

THE AMERICAN PERCEPTION OF THE  
OTTOMANS IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE BEGINNING  
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

A THESIS PRESENTED BY  
ZERRIN DEMİR (KÖSEMAN)  
TO  
THE INSTITUTE OF  
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF HISTORY

BILKENT UNIVERSITY

JANUARY, 1998

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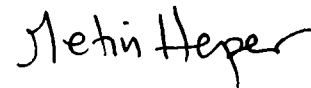
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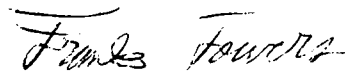
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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my own opinion it is fully adequate in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the Masters in History.

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Dr. Aksin Somel



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Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer



## **ABSTRACT**

The objective of this thesis is to present the American perceptions of the Ottomans in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries and to explain the origin of the images of Turkey in the United States. Sources include newspapers, magazines, journals, diaries and memoirs. The material is organized chronologically into four parts: early missionary activity, 1820-1877; American perceptions during the Armenian crisis, 1877-1900; the latter stages of Abdulhamit II's reign and the Young Turk period, 1900-1914; and the origins of the Republic, 1921-23.

Some of the old negative Turkish images of the different American groups who had philanthropic aims changed when they arrived to the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries because of the social, political and constitutional changes in the Ottoman government. However, some of the negative images of the American groups did not change because of working on the attitudes of the Ottoman governors towards the millets living in the Ottoman Empire. They expressed their negative and positive images of Turkey in American newspapers, journals, and magazines. While some Americans carried negative images of the Turkey and the East dating back to the Middle Ages forward into the twentieth century, others formed positive impressions of Turks and the East as a result of their experiences in the Ottoman Empire.

## ÖZ

Tez, 19. yüzyıl ile 20. yüzyıl başları arasındaki dönem içerisinde Amerikan kamuoyunun sahip olduğu Türk imajı ile bu imajı oluşturan faktörleri sebep ve sonuçları ile birlikte ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Tez kronolojik olarak dört ana bölümden oluşmuştur: 1820-1877 yılında Amerikan misyonierlerinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki faaliyetleri, 1877-1909 Ermeni olayları döneminde Amerikalıların Osmanlılar hakkındaki düşünceleri, 1900-1914 yılında Abdülhamit yönetiminin son yılları ve Genç Türkler ve son olarakta Cumhuriyet dönemi, 1921-1923.

Amerikan kamuoyunda çeşitli ön yargılar sebebiyle daha önce genellikle olumsuz olan Türk imajı, 19. yüzyıl ile 20. yüzyılın başlarında kurulan karşılıklı iyi ilişkiler, Amerika'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na gelerek faaliyet yürüten meslek sahibi ve fikir adamlarının etkinlikleri ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin yapmış olduğu sosyal, politik ve anayasal değişiklikler sonucunda olumlu hale dönüşmüştür. Bununla birlikte geçmiş yıllardan gelen olumsuz önyargılar ve inceleme yapılan dönem içerisinde azınlıklara yönelik çalışma yapan bazı grup ve kişilerin düşünceleri Amerikan kamuoyunun bazı kesimlerine olumsuz imaj olarak yansımıştır.

*To My Husband and My Little Daughter*

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

For the preparation of this thesis I appreciate the help of my advisors Dr. Jonathan Soffer and Dr. Frank Towers. I thank Dr. Akşin Somel, the Chairman of Bilkent University History Department, for obtaining the missionaries' diaries and memoirs. I am grateful to all my professors and to Prof. Dr. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu and to Dr. Seçil Akgün for the development of this thesis.



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## I. INTRODUCTION

It is important to know who carried the perception of the Ottomans to the United States, and how they spread this information to the American public. The topic has particular significance for those interested in the expansion of the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unlike many agents of imperialism, Americans in late Ottoman Turkey did not uniformly perceive their host nation as inferior and in need of domination by a supposedly superior United States. This thesis explores continuity and change in American images of Turks as seen through the eyes of missionaries, military personnel and journalists. Emphasis is placed on the content of those images and the ways that they varied according to time, place and the objectives of individual Americans.

In order to answer the questions above, this thesis has four chapters. The first chapter will be the American missionary perception of the Ottomans between 1820 and 1877. In this period, the American missionaries came to the Ottoman Empire to establish missions in different places. This chapter limits itself to early missionary activities. The main sources of this chapter will be the correspondence between the American missionaries who came to the Ottoman Empire and the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)*. Missionaries' attitudes differed according to their place of residence, period of stay, and their activities. There will also be a comparison of the American missionary images of the Ottomans with each other and the reasons for the differentiation of American images of Turkey among the missionaries. After that, it will be necessary to point out the Turkish attitude towards the changes in the Ottoman Empire with the coming of the American

missionaries and what the missionaries thought about the attitude of the Ottomans towards these changes.

The second chapter considers the period of 1877-1909. This was the period of the beginning of the Armenian Question. This chapter shows changes in American images of Turkey. Americans involved in Armenia differed sharply in their perceptions of Turks and the Ottoman state from their counterparts elsewhere in the Empire. The sources of this chapter are the correspondence between the American missionaries who came to the Ottoman Empire and *ABCFM* and the United States National Archive, and the diaries of the missionaries.

Social change and political crisis dominated the period 1901-1914. Chapter Three examines the varied reactions of American missionaries and journalists to the politics of Sultan Abdülhamit II and the Committee of Union and Progress. It also evaluates American and Turkish views of social changes such as educational reform and the advancement of women's rights. The archival sources of *ABCFM* show that the American missionaries informed the American public about the Ottoman Empire by corresponding with *ABCFM* and by sending articles related to the Ottoman Empire to American newspapers, journals and magazines. It is possible to understand from the letters, newspapers, journals and magazines that journalists wrote about what the missionaries wrote them, but they also added their own images of Turkey in their writings. This chapter treats social, political and constitutional changes in separate sections. The first section will be about Abdülhamit II and the period of his reign. It explains what the American public thought about the Ottoman government, reforms and censorship. The

second section deals with the Young Turks' policies in the Ottoman Empire, and American impressions of reforms and women's growing demand for rights in Ottoman society. Finally, the last section of the third chapter will be about what the American public thought about the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in World War I.

Because American impressions of Turkey differed according to time, place and personnel, it will be useful to examine the views of military officers, a group with a distinctly different purpose in Turkey than that of the missionaries. Army officers maintained many of the traditional, negative impressions of Turks that missionaries had given up decades earlier. Charged with observing the military and political actions of its war-time opponent, American military personnel more readily adopted an attitude of Western superiority to alleged Eastern inferiority. This chapter uses documents from the *American War College Carlisle Archives* between 1921 and 1923. Although the final chapter considers a short period, these years had a special significance because they followed the Ottoman Empire's disastrous losses in the Balkan Wars and World War I and encompassed the demise of the Sultanate in the Turkish War of Independence. The views of United States army officers towards Turkey at the end of this cycle of defeat for the empire and the beginning of the Republic reflected a kind of crystallization of American military thinking about the late Ottoman Empire. Archival sources contain information that explains the images of Turkey of some American officers in the American War College such as Stephan Panaretoff. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first considers the American officers' impressions of the Ottoman government. The second



section explains the American officers' attitudes towards the Nationalist government of Mustafa Kemal.

Historians have disagreed about the character of Western attitudes towards the East and Turkey. Because the subject of the American perception of the Ottomans depends on the evaluation of the researcher of that source. Although nobody studied this subject under the same title, there are many books and articles that could be used as a secondary source. One of the scholars who opposed the argument in this thesis was Edward Said. In his book *Orientalism*, Said points out that Orientalism represents the mentality of the colonial West. He explains that Western countries, like the United States, aimed to dominate the East. Said points out that the missionaries and soldiers coming from America and other European countries aimed to show the East the superiority of the West. He explained that the missionaries had political aims rather than philanthropic ones.<sup>1</sup> Said emphasizes the power relationships that underlay Western commentary on the East. He points out that Westerners wrote about the Middle East according to their own ideas that depended on the old stereotypes. Said quotes Louis Massignon, a twentieth-century French Orientalist, as saying: "We destroyed their(the easterners') philosophy and religion. They do not believe in anything anymore."<sup>2</sup> According to Said, Massignon meant that Westerners' aimed to destroy the cultural foundations of the East.

Said's model could apply to the American missionaries who wanted to invite the people living in the East to Protestantism. And while inviting them to

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Oryantalizm: Sömürgeciliğin Keşif Kolu*, İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 1982. p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 421.

Protestantism, they performed some philanthropic activities such as educational, religious, and medical in the East. Their aims, writes Said, were to conquer the Arab and other Islam countries. However, Said does not evaluate how American attitudes changed. He does not allow for changes in attitudes based on inductive observation of conditions in Turkey.

Another book that supports Edward Said's ideas is that of a Turkish writer. That is *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yabancı Okullar (The Foreign Schools in the Ottoman Empire)* of İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu who explains that the foreign schools helped to end the Empire. According to Haydaroğlu, the foreign schools interfered with the interior workings of the Ottoman Empire, introduced the western culture to the *millet*s living in the Ottoman Empire and encouraged the *millet*s to oppose the Ottoman state. In this way, Haydaroğlu explains, the missionaries teaching in the foreign schools tried to persuade the *millet*s to leave the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, she points out, the missionaries were dangerous for the Empire. This emphasis on missionaries' imperialism ignores their role in establishing modern educational institutions which have helped support Turkish independence in the twentieth century.

On the other hand, there are some scholars who supported some ideas expressed in this thesis. For example, Harry N. Howard in the article "The Bicentennial in American-Turkish Relations" emphasizes the contributions of missionary schools that Haydaroğlu downplays. Another scholar, Robert L. Daniel in *American Philanthropy in the Near East: 1820-1860* explains that missionary philanthropy employed the press and the medical work and in this way broadened the aspects of American culture introduced to Turkey. Daniel

explained that American missionaries expressed positive images of Turkey developed from the respect and friendship they shared with Ottomans.

American missionaries wrote many memoirs of their philanthropic activities in the Ottoman Empire. Some of them are James L. Barton's *Daybreak in Turkey* (1908), Florence Fensham's *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire* (1908), Cyrus Hamlin's *Among the Turks* (1878), and *My Life and Times* (1893) and George Washburn's *Fifty Years in Constantinople* (1909). They mainly explained that the missionaries had philanthropic aims and got the confidence, respect and friendship of the people living in the Ottoman Empire. John A. DeNovo in his book *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East: 1900-1939* (1963) explains the philanthropic aims in addition to the description and assessment of American cultural, economic and diplomatic activities in Turkey, Persia and the Arab East. DeNovo explains that the Ottomans were mainly pleased with the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Cyrus Hamlin in *My Life and Times* (1893) explains the philanthropic activities of the Americans in the schools such as in Robert College. Hamlin lived for a long time in the Ottoman Empire as a missionary and explains in his book the kindness and hospitality of the Ottomans towards the missionaries. He explains the eagerness of the Ottomans towards education.

Another book is that of Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, a Turkish historian. In his book *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika* (1989), Kocabaşoğlu supports some of the conclusions of this thesis: American missionaries were the ones who carried the images of Turkey to the United States. He explains the aims, the activities, the place of residence and the period of stay of the

missionaries. He gives important evidences from *ABCFM* to his ideas. The last book is a manual of Justin McCarthy. In his book *Turks and Armenians: A Manual on the Armenian Question* (a lobbying book), McCarthy explains the continuation of the old Turkish stereotypes because of the Armenian incidents happened in the Ottoman Empire. McCarthy points out that the changing images in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries belonged to the missionaries who stayed for a long time in the Ottoman Empire. These changing images were about the people living in the Ottoman Empire. McCarthy explains that since the missionaries had close relationships with the people living in the Ottoman Empire. Philanthropy won the confidence, respect and friendship of the Ottomans. However, McCarthy's work lacks primary source documentation.

This dispute among writers on American attitudes towards Turkey revolved around the emphasis each side places on the philanthropic activities of Americans versus their role in furthering Western hegemony over the East. This thesis explores philanthropic activity in light of the larger political conflict that engaged Americans in the last century of Ottoman rule. Along with images inherited from Western culture, time, place and personnel determined how Americans perceived Turks. The images and attitudes of missionaries differed because each group of missionaries had different activities, aims, place of residence and period of stay in the Ottoman Empire. For example, in the 1820s, missionaries like Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk wanted to decide if the Ottoman Empire was a good place for spreading Protestantism. Since there were different *millet*s living in the Empire, they would have decided that it would be possible to invite those *millet*s to Protestantism by being



sympathetic and helpful towards them. On the other hand, the missionaries sent to İstanbul aimed to serve the *millet*s in their education and religious activities. The groups of missionaries sent to different regions of the Ottoman Empire expressed their images of Turkey by observing the needs of the people living in that region and by observing the attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards those people. For example, when the missionaries noticed the lack of education of women, they accused the government of being indifferent to the issue. If missionaries lived near Armenians, they expressed the old stereotypes of “The terrible Turk” and “The barbarous Turk.” The longer the missionaries stayed in the Empire, the more favorably they viewed the Ottomans. The soldiers dealt more with the government than the people, and they criticized the governing abilities of Ottoman officials.

In conclusion, Americans in late Ottoman Turkey showed their ability to think outside of the West’s received wisdom about the East. While some observers, like those in the army, more closely shared the imperialist sentiments of their British and French counterparts they did so because the unique circumstances that brought them to the Empire. Other Americans who were less constrained to represent the interests of their country as a military power developed a wide range of impressions of Turks, and in some cases viewed Turks as their equals and as a people who had much to teach the West.

## II. THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY PERCEPTION OF THE OTTOMANS, 1820-1877

### A. The Aims of the Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire

Prejudice against Muslims and Turks began long ago and have been pervasive in Western culture. For example, *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language* includes calls a Turk, "one exhibiting any quality attributed to Turks such as duplicity, sensuality, or brutality." *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* classifies a Turk as "one who is cruel or tyrannical."<sup>3</sup> Dictionary definitions reflect popular culture. The Beatles, in their movie *Yellow Submarine* portrayed Turks as the "cartoon villains." The image comes from prejudice more than fact. In Turkish case, the prejudices began hundreds of years ago.

The image of "The terrible Turk" relates to Western fear of Islam as the tool of the Devil to attack Christianity. During the crusades, European Christians fought Muslims, and feared Turks as the strongest Islamic warriors. "The terrible Turk" image intensified when the Ottomans conquered Christian countries. Since the Ottomans remained a threat to Europe for three hundred years, the stereotype of "The terrible Turk" continued. The same image continued in some of the plays such as *Othello* in which one of Shakespeare's characters called the Turk "the circumcised dog" and "malignant and turbaned Turk." In the Western mind, the Turkish image was equated the Devil. For example, in Thomas Hardy's *Far from the Madding*

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<sup>3</sup>quoted in Justin McCarthy and Carolyn McCarthy, *Turks and Armenians: A Manual on the Armenian Question*, Washington: Committee on Education Assembly of Turkish American Associations, 1989. p. 70.

Crowd the country folk of Wessex county say "Turk take it" instead of "The Devil take it."<sup>4</sup> Or when Sultan Abdülhamit II was the subject of criticism such as in *The Outlook*, he was described as "an enormously rich and powerful prince sitting on his royal divan, inaccessible, ignorant, sensual, a ruthless oppressor and having hundreds of servants at this call and a harem full of bewitching hours."<sup>5</sup> Such exaggerated stereotypes as that expressed in the *Outlook* had a centuries-old history in Western culture.

This received wisdom helps explain the common claim by Western governments that the Ottoman Empire persecuted the *millets*. Such criticisms ignored privileges enjoyed by the *millets* such as the right of equality before law by *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* in 1839. All citizens' life, property, chastity and house rights were in security with the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*. In 1856, the *Islahat Fermanı* regulated *zımmis*' law, religious and social life situations.<sup>6</sup> "*Zımmis*" were the people who lived in an Islamic State and who maintained their own religion under the protection of the Sultan.<sup>7</sup> They had the right of living with their own religion, speaking their own language and having their own properties without intervention of the Ottoman government.<sup>8</sup> However, *zımmis* had some limitations with their clothes style in the Ottoman Empire. For example, different *zimmi* groups had different hats and different shoes. Muslims wore yellow hats and shoes, Armenians wore red, Greeks

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 72-73.

<sup>5</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, "The Sultan of Turkey," *The Outlook*, September 19, 72 (1902): 55-77, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Alman-İngiliz Belgelerinin ve Siyasi Gelişmelerin Işığında Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukuki Durumu, 1839-1914*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989. p. 55.; E. Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Cilt 3. p. 197.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>8</sup> Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Millet Sistemi*, İstanbul: Üniversite, 1992. p. 15.

wore black and Jews wore yellow. This would probably be to understand the origin of each individual. They had also some rules in their practice of religion. They could not work in state service. They were not permitted to perform military service.<sup>9</sup>

According to *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, from the seventeenth-century onwards the term "*millet*" meant "the Orthodox and Armenian religious communities, comprising Ottoman *zimmi*s," at least according to the Ottoman state.<sup>10</sup> *Millet* is the name of the religious groups such as Greek *millet*, Jewish *millet* and Armenian *millet*. By millet system, *zimmi*s were given the freedom of religion and tolerance in private law. They were at the same time separated from the Muslims to protect the religious characteristic of Islam. In this way, *zimmi*s generally lived in peace with Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

Western interest in the Ottoman Empire and continued criticism of Turks grew with the rise of nineteenth-century nationalism, one of the main causes of the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. Reflecting the spread of nationalist movements in the wake of the French Revolution, the *millets* increasingly demanded their freedom from the Empire. Their desire to have freedom attracted the attention of foreign countries including the United States.<sup>12</sup> The United States and Europe evaluated the Ottoman government with some old stereotypes such as "tyrannical, oppressor and violent" towards the *millets*. They argued that the different *millets* did not have enough religious rights in the Ottoman Empire. Ironically, the United States and other countries

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<sup>9</sup> Bozkurt, 19, 233.

<sup>10</sup> quotation from C. E. Bosworth, et. al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. VII (New York: E. J. Brill, 1993), p. 62; Bozkurt, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>12</sup> Roderic H. Davison, "Türkiye'nin Batı'daki Tarihsel İmajı," *Tarih ve Toplum*, 109 (1993): 35.



sponsored religious missions to promote spiritual freedom, but, at least in the American case, Protestants, a tiny minority in the Ottoman Empire, led these efforts.

Protestant missionaries tried to be as sympathetic as possible with the people living in the Ottoman Empire through their philanthropic activities. In this way, they would invite those people to Protestantism. In addition to religious missionary activities, the missionaries aimed to perform other philanthropic activities such as medical care and education.<sup>13</sup> In this way, the relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire would develop. The missions and missionaries helped develop relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire. Missionaries played a key role on introducing Turkey to the United States by writing letters to *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)*, sending articles to magazines, newspapers, or journals and by writing diaries and memoirs. They expressed their images of Turkey through their writings. Their images varied according to their aims, their residence of place, their period of stay, their observations and according to their activities in different times. It is possible to learn about the variation of the American images of Turkey from the activities of the missionaries and from the missionary thoughts about the Turks.<sup>14</sup>

The missionaries were sent to the Ottoman Empire by the *ABCFM*. This agency aimed to evangelize the world. It was also an instrument to aid

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<sup>13</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, İstanbul: Arba, 1989. p. 221.

<sup>14</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, 220.

the missionaries' work.<sup>15</sup> The Board (*ABCFM*) had a meeting in 1810, September at Farmington, Connecticut and adopted a constitution. In this constitution, the object of the Board was, "to devise, adopt and prosecute, ways and means for propagating the Gospel among those who are destitute of the knowledge of Christianity." To propagate the Gospel, the Board needed funds. It received money from private contributions and Massachusetts state legislature.<sup>16</sup>

*ABCFM* first sent Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons to the Ottoman Empire in 1820. The Board instructed them to:

"... survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes which dwell in that land and in the surrounding countries. The two grand inquiries ever present in your mind will be "What good can be done?" and "By what means?", "What can be done for Jews?", "What for pagans?", "What for Mohammedans?", "What for Christians?", "What for the people in Palestine?" and "What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Armenia, in other countries to which your inquiry may be extended?"<sup>17</sup>

Being ordered to perform useful activities, the missionaries would search the *millets* living in the Ottoman Empire. They tried to do their best in the Empire with "earnest attention." The first thing the two missionaries did was to open a printing house in Malta to inform *ABCFM* about developments in the Empire. Their method would be "to recognize and to introduce."<sup>18</sup> They would recognize the situation and the people in the Empire and introduce them to the United States by corresponding with the *ABCFM* and other groups.

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<sup>15</sup> Rao H. Lindsay, *Nineteenth Century American Schools in the Levant: A Study of Purposes*, Michigan: University of Michigan School of Education, 1965. p. 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>17</sup> Ethel W. Putney, *A Brief History of American Board Schools in Turkey*, Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi, İstanbul, 1964. p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, İstanbul: Arba, 1989.p. 220.

## B. Personal Observations of the First Missionaries

Missionaries in their memoirs, diaries and letters expressed their personal observations about the situation in the Ottoman Empire during their stay. There are some differences in their perceptions depending on the aims of their residence in the Empire, on the period of their stay, on the location of their study, on the closeness of their relations with Turks and on their activities in the Ottoman Empire in different times.

The first two missionaries, Fisk and Parsons observed the situation in the Empire and wrote about their observations to the *Missionary Herald* in a letter:

All who are not Mohammedans are allowed to change their religion as they please, and to make what efforts they please to convert each other. The government never interferes. Merchants from all countries reside in Smyrna, hold property, and enjoy their political and religious opinions and practices. There are at least 6 or 8 foreign consuls in the city, who afford protection to the people of their respective countries, and decide all differences among them, and between them and the Smyrneans, according to the laws of civilized nations. As to any molestation from government, we feel almost as safe as we should in Boston.... We hear of no instance in which Turks have molested a Christian merely on account of his religion. There is reason to believe, that American missionaries will enjoy as much safety as merchants and other Christians who reside here and think of no danger.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> "Letter from the Rev. Messrs. Fisk and Parsons," *Missionary Herald*, Oct., 1820. Vol. 16. pp. 121-123. quoted in *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Syria: 1819-1870*. p. 15.

This letter which emphasized the missionaries' freedom of movement, encouraged a friendly attitude toward Turkey in the United States. The letter praised the attitude of the Ottoman government towards the *millets*. They asserted that there was "no tyranny, no oppression and no sense of unequal treatment" of the government towards the *millets*. This contradicted older stereotypes such of Turkish oppression of the *millets*. The readers of the *Missionary Herald* who may have supposed missionaries would be treated harshly in the Ottoman Empire instead learned that they had freedom of movement and were perfectly safe. Such letters also assured potential recruits to Turkey that they would also receive kind treatment.

American missionaries sent to the Empire in 1832 were told on arrival by their predecessors that more schools were needed than the one in Beyoğlu, İstanbul. The new schools had to be opened. There was the need for trustworthy teachers and the best kind of school books in the vernacular language. The missionaries who would be sent to the Ottoman Empire were informed that the new missionaries coming to the Empire should be good educators at the same time.<sup>20</sup>

Educational missions sought to promote Protestantism as well as teach basic math and literacy. *The Missionary Herald* advised its agents that:

It should be a leading object with you to make impressions on individual minds. Search for such minds, with humble and constant prayer that you may not seek in vain. If you meet an individual alone, see whether he has an inquisitive, serious mind. If you are in

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<sup>20</sup> *ABCFM Annual Report*, 1832, p. 183, quoted in Putney, 1.



company, and the whole seem to be hardened and unthinking, there may still be one who is not so.<sup>21</sup>

As the letter in *The Missionary Herald* indicates, the missionaries not only observed the general situation in the Ottoman Empire, but also tried to “make impressions” on individual minds. They aimed to help the people living in the Ottoman Empire with great attention. In this way, they seemed as sympathetic as possible towards the Ottomans. However, the letter implies that missionaries might have covered up their own self-interest in finding converts when they called those resistant to conversion “unthinking.” Those described as “clever” were also those viewed as more isolated from the rest of their community, and therefore better prospective converts.

The Prudential Committee informed the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, one of the missionaries, about the objects of the missions. The Committee, in the instructions given to Cyrus Hamlin, explained that “the object of the missions to the oriental churches was first to revive the knowledge and spirit of the gospel among them; and secondly by that means to operate upon the Mohammedans.”<sup>22</sup> By the means of reviving the gospel, they aimed to gain members to Christianity, and reform the churches in the Empire. In this way, they would have close relations with the non-Muslims through religious activities. They would likely express their observations to the United States by means of *ABCFM*, because the missionaries were in good contacts with *ABCFM*.

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<sup>21</sup> “Objects of the Missions to the Oriental Churches, and the Means of Prosecuting them,” *Missionary Herald*, Jan., 1839, quoted in *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. 3. p. 164.

<sup>22</sup> “Objects of the Missions to the Oriental Churches, and the Means of Prosecuting them,” *Missionary Herald*, Jan., 1839, quoted in *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. 3. p. 160.

The American missionaries informed the Prudential Committee of the *ABCFM* in Syria that Christians would be glad to accept the religious books of the missionaries. According to the Report of the Prudential Committee there were many professed Christians to whom immediate access could be gained and who would receive religious books with "gladness" in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>23</sup> The Committee informed them that Christian missionaries could reside in any part of Turkey without any interference from the Ottoman government. According to the Report of the Prudential Committee, Turkey was a good field for the American missionaries. The early missionaries were sent to investigate and explore the location of missions and stations. After that, they organized the exact nature and methods of work by distributing Bibles and religious tracts and by doing good in Turkey and in this way by opening a door of help.<sup>24</sup> Here, what is meant by Turkey is the Ottoman Empire. Americans called the Ottoman Empire Turkey or the Turkish Empire.<sup>25</sup>

The missionaries' method of work was to be useful for the people by distributing books and by instructing the people. This means that the missionaries tried to make a good impression in the Ottoman Empire. They would learn how to make good impressions on the minds by attending the regular meetings, conferences and seminars held by the *ABCFM* in certain

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<sup>23</sup> "The Report of the Prudential Committee," *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 16. 1820. p: 265-268, quoted in *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria 1819-1870*, Vol. 1. p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, The Pilgrim Press, 1908, p. 119.; "Letters from Messrs. arsonsand Fisk, "Journal of the Missionaries, *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 17 (1821): 201-207, quoted in *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. 1, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Turks and Armenians: A Manual on the Armenian Question*, Washington: Committee on Education Assembly of Turkish American Associations, 1989, p. 11.

times. These regular meetings also had the purpose of preventing missionaries from diverging from *ABCFM* policy.<sup>26</sup>

To make good impressions on individual minds, the missionaries sought to gain the sympathy of the people. In order to gain sympathy of the people living in that country, it would be necessary to know the laws and customs of the country. The missionary could promote industry and guide people to the right object of industry. The missionaries should have the sympathy and thoughtful regard of all the converts. The missionaries taught their converts to build houses, to cook properly, to build schools, houses and churches. Masonry, carpentry and blacksmithing were also among the missionary labors.<sup>27</sup> The missionaries taught the converts lessons of self-support, self-reliance and division of labor in developing the industries such as masonry, carpentry and blacksmithing. In this way, they would gain the sympathy of the people.

The missionaries worked according to the conditions of the environment and the requirements of the people in the environment. For example, language, culture and trade lessons were important in İstanbul and İzmir.<sup>28</sup> İstanbul was an important city of the Empire where several *millet*s lived together and where there was the need for educational activities. Since there were several *millet*s in İstanbul, more than one mission was established there. İstanbul missions were in four main groups. Therefore, the first one was related with the language activities consisting of Turkish, Armenian and

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<sup>26</sup> İlknur Polat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Açılan Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Belleken*, 52 (1988): 627-65, p. 630.; *ABCFM*, 16:9:5, Vol.: No: 126.

<sup>27</sup> Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 197-200.

<sup>28</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, İstanbul: Arba, 1989, p. 222.

Greek. The second one prepared religious and lesson books. The third one concentrated on education, both secular and religious. The fourth communicated with the public.<sup>29</sup> These four missions, particularly the public relations one, made the missionaries lovable, sympathetic and helpful.

The missionaries also gathered sociological and cultural data from the places they had been by translating texts, preparing the tools for language study and describing the religious and other customs of little-known races. It was expected that missionaries would add to the scholarly knowledge of remote regions and people.<sup>30</sup> Missionaries transmitted knowledge of Turkey through newspaper correspondence, telegraph, political pamphlets, the annual sermons, and missionary correspondence with the Board.<sup>31</sup>

The missionaries expressed their images of Turkey while performing philanthropic activities in the Ottoman Empire. Their images varied according to the activities they performed. For example, the groups of missionaries who were working in health centers expressed their views on the health problems in the Ottoman Empire. The ones who were working in the schools expressed their views on education in the Ottoman Empire and the ones who served religious activities expressed their images of Turkey about the treatment of the government to the religious rights of the *millets*.

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<sup>29</sup> The Letter of H. G. O. Dwight in 17 July 1834, *ABCFM*, 16:9, Vol. 2, No: 25.

<sup>30</sup> Clifton Jackson Phillip, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Lindsay, 7.; Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 358.

### C. Philanthropic Activities of the American Missionaries

#### 1. American Missionary Activities in Health Centers

The American missionaries expressed their images of Turkey during their activities in the health centers. Some of the missionaries worked in the hospitals. They brought with them innovations in children's medicine. They aimed to transform all the customs of medical treatment of the home.<sup>32</sup> Missionary stations had doctors, clinics and hospitals. The first hospitals were established in Antep, Kayseri, Mardin, and Van. Later, hospitals were established in Istanbul, Merzifon, Sivas, Harput and Diyarbakır.<sup>33</sup>

The missionary doctors who came to Turkey believed that the Turks were pleased with the hospitals and had respect for a physician. For example, in the "Proceedings of Missionaries in Syria" written to *The Missionary Herald* in 1828, it is possible to understand the Ottomans' respect to physicians:

. . . the great Turks have so much respect for a physician, that in case of an uproar of any kind, they would protect [them]; and secondly, if the priests would prevent the people from visiting a missionary, they could not prevent them from visiting a physician, besides the Turks have generally the idea that a physician must be a good man: thus many said of us- "Their religion must be good, because they are the best men in the town."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Fensham, 99.

<sup>33</sup> *ABCFM*, 16: 5. Vol: 6. No: 118.

<sup>34</sup> "Proceedings of Missionaries in Syria," *Missionary Herald*. Sept., 24 (1828): 285-287, quoted in *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria: 1819-1870*, Vol. 2. p. 66.

As the missionaries who wrote this letter to *The Missionary Herald* observed, there was respect and confidence towards physicians. Medical doctors like Asa Dodge, assigned to Syria in 1833, were appointed to the principal mission stations to serve mission personnel and the local population.<sup>35</sup> In this way, medical activities as a form of philanthropy took shape.

Hospitals were the places in which the missionaries had conferred with the patients that confined to bed. They read the Bible to them, recited hymns and related Christianity when the patients needed care, attention and sympathy. Turks and the missionaries had close friendships in the hospitals.<sup>36</sup> In 1911, a medical missionary in Zincirliköy, Konya wrote that, "Among various patients we have met with all kinds, from fanatical opposers to hearty acceptors."<sup>37</sup> Hymns were believed to impress Muslims. However, as *ABCFM* records indicate, there were some Muslims who opposed the hymns. Nevertheless, most Muslims liked the hymns because Islam did not have such recitals. Therefore, most of the patients learned and recited them. Osman, an old Turkish man in Konya in 1911 learned some hymns during his hospital stay. He said: "I shall never forget these hymns. I shall sing them in my village."<sup>38</sup> The hymns the missionaries sang and other philanthropic activities had the underlying purpose of converting the people living in the Ottoman Empire to Protestantism. The missionaries' success on part depended on being very sympathetic to the people living in the Ottoman Empire. Although the number of the conversions are not given in the sources,

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<sup>35</sup> Daniel, 63.

<sup>36</sup> Seçil Akgün, "The Turkish Image in the Reports of the American Missionaries in Turkey." *I. Uluslararası Seyahatnamelerde Türk ve Batı İmajı Sempozyumu Belgeleri*, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1985, p. 324.

<sup>37</sup> *ABCFM* Records, UnitV, Reel 631: 0041.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

it is possible to understand from the letters in *ABCFM* how successful the missionaries were in affecting the patients with the hymns.

The non-Christians also benefited from the medical philanthropy of the American missionaries.<sup>39</sup> In this way, the missionaries gained the sympathy of the patients from every millet living in the Ottoman Empire. Since love and care were given in the illness period, every patient would feel sympathy towards the missionaries. As a result of sympathy and confidence towards the missionaries, the Americans who lived in Turkey believed that the Turks were pleased with their activities and had respect for physicians

The missionaries introduced Western-style medicine to many parts of the Ottoman Empire and had a tremendous influence. Dr. Asa Dodge, the first doctor sent by the American Board, arrived in Beirut in 1833. Dr. Cornelius VanDyke was sent to Beirut in 1840. Dr. Azariah Smith arrived in Aintab in 1842. Dr. George Edward Post started his medical career in 1863. The early doctors served in wide areas. As there were few local physician in the Ottoman Empire, medical work soon attracted wide-spread attention and the confidence of the people. Medical work was welcome in the Ottoman Empire, because as missionary medicine showed what modern science could do toward relieving pain and curing ailments, it became possible to attack the notion that illness was a visitation from Allah and could leave the patient after treatment. Like Dr. Clarence Ussher, the missionary physicians thought that there was a need for nurses' training and a need for diffusion of information to help control the terrible epidemics of typhus, cholera, and smallpox that

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<sup>39</sup> John A. DeNovo, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East: 1900-1939*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1963. p. 7.

could spread whole areas. Ussher presented a demonstration of the work of his locally trained nurses as well as a public demonstration of techniques for handling epidemics. The missionaries observed that the Turkish medical science was away from the modern medical science to treat the epidemics. Like Ussher, the missionaries explained that the nurses and the doctors had to be given Western-style medicine.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, to improve medicine in Turkey, the Board sent missionary nurses to doctors to assist, to supervise in the hospitals and to train nurses. The missionaries observed that Turkey had problems of ignorance, staff shortage and limited finance in medical work. These problems had to be reduced by medical education, more staff and financial aid.<sup>41</sup> The missionaries did their best to solve these problems. The *ABCFM* sent funds for the hospitals in the Ottoman Empire, and encouraged physicians to give Western-style education to nurses.

## 2. American Missionary Activities in the Schools

The missionaries expressed their different images of Turkey in their different activities. For example, the ones who worked in the schools noticed the eagerness of the children to have education. Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk wrote to the *Missionary Herald* in Syria in 1821: "How eager were the children in all the schools to receive tracts, how ready the students of the College to distribute them."<sup>42</sup> With this eagerness to learn, the missionaries established many schools with the help of *ABCFM* and some other organizations such as

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<sup>40</sup> DeNovo, 12, 31.; Mary Alice Shepard, *Doctor's Care: Medical Mission in Turkey*, Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1970, p.2-3.

<sup>41</sup> Shepard, 1.

<sup>42</sup> "Journal of Messrs. Parsons and Fisk at Scio," *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 17(1821):97-105. quoted in *The Missionary Herald*, Vol. 5.p.45.



British and Foreign Bible Society, American Bible Society, American Tract Society and London Religious Tract Society<sup>43</sup>. American missionaries established schools for the Ottomans after having enough funds. For example, they established Harput American College in 1859. Then, Cyrus Hamlin and Christopar Rhineland Robert established Robert College in 1863 in İstanbul. This was very important for the development of education in the Ottoman Empire. After that, İstanbul American Girl College was established in 1871 in Gedikpaşa with the great efforts of Cyrus Hamlin. Another important college was Merzifon American College which was created in 1863. These were only some of the schools opened by the American missionaries supported by the *ABCFM*.<sup>44</sup> The number of missions and missionaries increased within the Ottoman Empire. Below is a table showing the rapid growth in the number of missions and missionaries, schools and the students in those schools from 1845 to 1904.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, 90.

<sup>44</sup> İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar*, Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 1993, p. 127-128.

<sup>45</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "Amerikan Okulları," *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, p. 496; Daniel, 94; Davison, 290-291.

American Missionary Schools in the Ottoman Empire: 1845-1904

<u>Years</u>	<u>Mission Number</u>	<u>Missionaries</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Students</u>
1845	34	12	7	135
1850	38	25	7	112
1855	58	77	38	363
1860	92	156	71	2742
1865	89	204	114	160
1870	116	364	205	5489
1875	137	460	244	8253
1880	146	548	331	13095
1885	156	768	396	13791
1890	177	791	464	16996
1895	177	867	449	20604
1900	153	910	425	23040
1904	187	1057	465	22867

It is clear from the table that there was a great increase in the number of American missions, missionaries, schools and the students in those schools between 1843 and 1904. This shows that American missionaries succeeded in promoting education in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the eagerness for education in the Ottoman Empire, the increase in the number of missionaries working in the schools shows the eagerness of the missionaries to help the students. The *Millets* approval of missionary schools grew over time. This increase in the missions, missionaries, schools and the students

suggests that the missionaries had close relationships with the *millets* living in the Ottoman Empire.

The American Board report in 1908 detailed the increase in missions, missionaries, schools and students. In Central Turkey, Western Turkey and Eastern Turkey, the Board had twenty stations and 269 outstations that employed 195 missionaries and wives and 852 teachers along with 5 theological schools, 49 colleges and many boarding and high schools with 4,600 students.<sup>46</sup> All these developments show that the missionaries were effective in the Ottoman Empire and different *millets* such as the Armenians and Jews volunteered to embrace them. This would probably mean that some Armenians and the Jews accepted conversion. The Sultan also accepted the missionaries and gave permission to establish new schools. He thought that the missionaries were useful for the development of education in the Ottoman Empire.

William Goodell, for example, thought that the Turkish officials and the American missionaries had mutual respect. Goodell, one of the first missionaries, formed a good relationship with Turkish leaders. Goodell called Ahmed Pasha, director of the Military Academy at Dolmabahçe “as fine a young man, as I have ever seen”. He praised the Turkish officials and leaders because “They are very affable in conversation and gentlemanly in their appearance; and on the subject of education they are full of fire and enthusiasm.”<sup>47</sup> William Goodell, being one of the long-term missionaries, developed closer friendships with Turks and had greater respect for them. He

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<sup>46</sup> Mirak, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Goodell to David Uguart, Jan.29, 1834, 16:9. Vol.1, p. 180.

went beyond the old Turkish stereotypes because of being in close relationship with the Turkish people.

In 1878, on a tour of Nicodemia (İznik) with Henry O. Dwight who was a veteran traveler, Cyrus Hamlin, for example, observed that it was hard to believe the East as “barbarous East.” He saw acts of politeness, good nature and good fellowship on the vessel. The passengers were Armenians, Greeks and Turks.<sup>48</sup> He saw unity of the *millets* under friendly relations in the tour. Cyrus Hamlin was the founder of the Robert College in 1863 and became the headminister of the College which had an important role in the American educational activities in Turkey and the development of the Turkish education.<sup>49</sup> Cyrus Hamlin had close relations with the Turks through his work in the development of education in Turkey. Like Goodell, he had good impressions about Turks.

In 1913, L. Foreman, who lived in the Ottoman Empire for a long time as a missionary in Kessab, reported that Turks who could read asked him for books in “Osmanlı Turkish.” This shows the eagerness of the Ottomans for education.<sup>50</sup> Although the date of archive record is 1913, it doesn't mean that the attitudes of L. Foreman only belong to that date. His perceptions also reflect to the prior dates more than 1913. Because L. Foreman began his missionary work long before 1913. He did not view Turks as prejudiced against foreigners or different religions. For Foreman, they were curious and were eager to learn.

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<sup>48</sup> Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 19.

<sup>49</sup> İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar*. Ankara: Ocak Yayınları, 1993, p.125.

<sup>50</sup> *ABCFM Records*, Unit 1, Reel: 66, V.21; 1913.

### 3. American Missionary Activities in Female Education

In addition to the activities in the schools, American missionaries were also effective in the education of women. The Woman's Board of Missions in Boston, formed in January 1868, thought that "women might work directly for women abroad." Cyrus Hamlin, one of the long term missionaries in the Ottoman Empire thought that there was the need of women's work in Turkey. Therefore, he opened a school for girls.<sup>51</sup> Below is a letter from Mr. Ford who was a missionary in 1861 in the Ottoman Empire:

It was our special object to reach the females at our out-stations, through the female missionary; and in this respect we have found much to encourage such labor. It was the time of harvest, when women as well as men and very busy gathering in their crops, yet the women, especially those of Protestant families, have shown a readiness to improve every opportunity for getting instruction, and have frequented our tent at all hours of the day and evening, to take their first lessons in spelling, to show the progress they have made in reading, or to listen to words of religious exhortation. Among the men, too, there was found a good degree of attention, considering the time; and it seemed as though the good seed was finding a lodgment in some hearts.<sup>52</sup>

As seen from the letter, women were already working in the fields by cutting crops. However, from the observation of Mr. Ford in 1861, we see that there was an awakening in Muslim and non-Muslim women towards education. In the letter, Ford describes women's desire to be educated and the difficulties

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<sup>51</sup> Fensham, 37.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Mr. Ford, Vol. 57(1861) pp. 280-281. quoted in *The Missionary Herald*, 31.

they faced in reaching that goal. The missionaries supported and encouraged the education of women.

The letter's date of 1861 was a year in the era of Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire. These reforms strengthened the authority of the government. Tanzimat, which means "regulation, organization, and reform" was the name given to the series of reforms performed in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Abdülmecit I (1839-1861). The best known of these reforms were the *Hatt'ı Şerif of Gülhane* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber) of 3 November 1839, and the *Hatt'ı Hümayun* (Imperial Edict) of 18 February 1856. These reforms granted certain rights and liberties to Ottoman subjects, guaranteeing personal freedom, security of life, honor, property, a regular method of assessing and collecting taxes, of levying, recruiting and fixing the term of the armed forces, and the abolition of tax farming.<sup>53</sup>

*Hatt'ı Hümayun* or *Islahat Fermanı* (Royal Decree of Reforms) on 18 February 1856 confirmed the intents of *Gülhane Hatt'ı Şerifi*, and emphasized the free and equal status of all Ottoman subjects, without considering religion, ethnicity, or language, in relation to such matters as taxation, education, justice, ownership of property, eligibility for public office, elective administration and "the equal encouragement of good citizenship without prejudice to class or creed."<sup>54</sup> Although these reforms directly did not explain any rights for women's education, it is obvious from Ford's letter that women were affected by these reforms.

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<sup>53</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 2 Vols. Cambridge, 1977, p.60.; Salahi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993, p. 147-148.

<sup>54</sup> Sonyel, 149.

In addition to the attention to women's education, missionaries like Hamlin, promoted middle-class Western gender norms in which women managed the household, children, and familial morals and men worked outside the home as breadwinners.<sup>55</sup> Hamlin's school for girls emphasized this ideal of Western domesticity by teaching girls to be good mothers and good educators of their children. This model differed from the Ottoman way of life. Hamlin's program meant that the women would have certain rights to give decisions at home. Women were pleased with this situation and were interested in the activities of the missionaries. However, fathers and husbands of women would oppose such radical cultural change because girls would be educated and oppose to get married to a man whom they did not love in early ages. Most girls married their husbands without their consent because the choice of the husbands belonged to the fathers. Men worried that gender norms such as clothing, male supremacy before the law, and, for some, polygamy, were threatened by female education.

It is possible to understand from the sources of *ABCFM* between 1820 and 1877 that American missionaries had mainly philanthropic activities in the Ottoman Empire. They expressed their American images of Turkey in different ways. Doctors wrote about health, teachers about education; and ministers about faith.. In general, American missionaries who came to Turkey between 1820 and 1877 transcended received negative images of Turks and, without wholeheartedly endorsing the practices of the Ottoman state, they formulated more positive and complimentary impressions of Turks.

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<sup>55</sup> Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 200.

#### D. The Ottomans' Attitude towards the Changes in the Ottoman Empire with the Coming of the American Missionaries

Although there were changes in American perception of Turkey with some groups of Americans who dealt with the Armenian incidents, the Turks were generally pleased with the American missionaries who performed philanthropic activities in the Ottoman Empire. Because of the good changes that will be explained below, American missionaries got the sympathy of the Turks. Since, Americans living in the Ottoman Empire knew that the Turks were pleased with them and with their activities, they in turn developed good images of Turkey. Therefore, the Ottomans' attitude towards the changes associated with the American missionaries helped create favorable American images of Turkey. The reason would probably be that the missionary activities were useful for the people living in the Empire. That *millet*s living in the Ottoman Empire were pleased with the missionary activities. For example, among these activities were the publication of the school books. With the printing establishments, press developed in the Empire and newspapers were published and literature and intellectual life developed. The Christian scriptures were translated, printed and circulated in all the languages of the Empire -in Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Kurdish, Armeno-Turkish, Greco-Turkish, and Hebrew -by the way of Istanbul American Bible Bookstore as being the main publication of the missionaries.<sup>56</sup>

American missionaries like Dr. George F. Herrick, a fifty year resident of Constantinople, wrote that Americans in their persons and in their

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<sup>56</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, 144-148.; Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 360-362.



institutions were not endangered in the Ottoman Empire. Americans were not seen as hostile foreigners. That the missionaries got the confidence of the Ottomans gradually; that the Ottomans recognized the philanthropic aims and acts of the Americans; that the Ottomans knew that the missionaries established ten American colleges, twenty high schools, twelve hospitals, located at strategic centers in Turkey for the benefit of the Ottomans.<sup>57</sup>

Newspapers began their careers with the missionaries. Scriptures were sold in more than twenty languages. The Bible House of Constantinople was established. Literature which emphasized Christian education developed. Schools and various institutions of learning increased.<sup>58</sup> With the increase in the publication of the newspapers, Bible delivery, and schools, the missionaries furthered their aims in the Ottoman Empire.

The missionaries worked hard. They worked at 21 strategic points and 414 stations which included twelve physicians and 68 female missionaries. In these stations, missionaries worked with their wives and families in the East to teach how a Christian life may be. There were five theological schools and eight colleges for men and women. There were many high schools and boarding schools and 510 primary schools for the education. In these schools, there were 36,512 students educated with Christian American education.<sup>59</sup>

The main idea in education was "self-support" and "self-development."<sup>60</sup> Large numbers of students in the mission schools became

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<sup>57</sup> George F. Herrick, "The Turkish Crisis and American Interests," *American Review of Reviews*, V. 50, Oct., 191. p. 76.

<sup>58</sup> Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 362-363.

<sup>59</sup> Fensham, 95-96,

<sup>60</sup> Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, 274.

prosperous merchants and business men in Europe and America. These men introduced the Western machinery and factory products to the East and they carried the products of Turkey to the United States.<sup>61</sup>

Education developed in the Empire with the missionaries, because education was very important in the schools of the missionaries. The missionaries supported modern education. Modern, regular, and developed educational institutions were the example to the other countries. In addition to education, American missionaries wanted to add new members to Protestantism in the schools by making impressions on the minds of the people living in the Ottoman Empire about Christianity. This factor was very important for the expansion of Protestantism.

The Ottomans' attitude towards the changes in the Ottoman Empire with the coming of the American missionaries helped missionaries send glowing reports about life in Turkey to the United States, and counteracted the many bad images of Turkey about the Armenian incidents in the United States. Because, the Ottomans understood how Americans aided education, health, and promoted publication of literature, newspapers and school books. The old Turkish stereotypes would not be valid, when the Ottomans' attitude towards the changes in the Ottoman Empire with the coming of the American missionaries was the subject. While missionaries carried out their philanthropic activities in the Ottoman Empire they also wrote about their experiences. For example, the ones who worked in the schools expressed their images of Turkey about the eagerness of people for education. They

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<sup>61</sup> James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, The Pilgrim Press, II. Ed., 1908, pp: 192-193.

also expressed their views on the obstacles to education of women. On the other hand, the ones who were dealing with religious activities expressed their images of Turkey on the religious rights of the different *millets* and the attitude of the Ottoman government towards these *millets*. The missionaries who worked in the hospitals pointed out their images of Turkey about the respect of the patients towards American physicians and their desire to learn the hymns.

However, there were some other groups of missionaries who were directly in contact with the Armenians and therefore interested in the Turkish-Armenian events in the Ottoman Empire beginning from 1877 onwards. Their images of Turkey were different because of the terrible Armenian events. With this group of Americans the old Turkish stereotypes did not change. They criticized the Turkish government and the Sultan as being the causes of these events. For example, although most of the missionaries were pleased with the Turks' attitude towards the missionary activities, some of the missionaries, like Rogers of Tarsus, called the Turks "bloodthirsty" and "savage." However, it is wrong to generalize that most of the old Turkish stereotypes still continue. Because, the continuation of some of the stereotypes depended mainly on the unforgettable Armenian-Turkish events in the Ottoman Empire. It would possibly be true to state that the continuation of the old stereotypes until today depended on the terrible events in history such as "The Terrible Turk" coming from the Armenian-Turkish events.

### III. THE MISSIONARIES AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION, 1877-1909

#### A. Overview of the Armenian Question

The Armenian question began during the Ottoman-Russian War between 1877-1878 when Russia occupied some cities in Anatolia and provoked the Armenians living there against the Ottoman Empire for independence. After this war, the Ayastefanos and the Berlin agreements were signed. These agreements secured the acceptance of the consequences of Ottoman-Russian War at the international level.<sup>62</sup> The beginning of the Armenian question began with the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878. After this date, "Armenian Question" became a diplomatic issue. Because its consequences allowed European countries to dominate the land, the resources and manpower of the Ottoman Empire. Until Ottoman-Russian War, there was no "Armenian Question" in the Ottoman State. In fact, Armenians were accepted as the "millet-i sadıka" in the Ottoman Empire. They were involved in governing duties. The Armenians lived in the towns and villages of Eastern Anatolia worked in farming, local industries and trade on a small scale. The Armenians that lived in the cities worked in economic and financial activities as domestic trade, foreign trade, jewelry-making, banking, contracting and revenue-farming.<sup>63</sup> Instead of compulsory military service, they paid a light tax that led them to be busy with their own business and efforts. They were more prosperous than the Turks. Until the reign of

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<sup>62</sup> Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, *Ermeni Olayları Tarihi I*, Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1994, p. 30.

<sup>63</sup> Ertuğrul Zekai Ökte, ed., *Ottoman Archive. Yıldız Collection: The Armenian Question*, Vol. 1, The Foundation for Establishing and Promoting Centers for Historical Research and Documentation, 1989, p. XV.

Abdülhamit II in the Ottoman Empire, Armenians lived with Turks as friends and brothers in safety and peace.<sup>64</sup>

With the beginning of the Armenian question, American observers in eastern Turkey resorted to the old Turkish stereotypes such as the "barbarous Turk."<sup>65</sup> The Armenian massacres arouse the sympathy of the Americans. Some Americans aimed to help Armenians by holding meetings, sending money to missionaries to be given to the Armenians and supporting the Armenians in the publications, books and newspapers and by protesting Ottoman government for the Armenian incidents.

#### B. How Missionaries Viewed Ottomans' Armenian Policy

The images of Turkey, first of all, changed according to the different groups of Americans, according to the change of time, then to the activities and to the place of residence of the missionaries. The period of 1877-1909 was very important for the change of images of Turkey in the American public. The reason for the change was the Armenian incidents that happened in the Ottoman Empire in the period of Abdülhamit II. It was the Armenian question that became an important subject in history. In addition to missionaries, American consuls, soldiers and diplomats dealt with the Armenian incidents in the places where the Armenians lived. But in particular, missionaries who had close relations with the Armenians wrote about the Armenian incidents to *ABCFM*, American newspapers, journals and

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<sup>64</sup> Gordon, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Gordon, 16.

magazines, and informed the American public about the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

Bilal Şimşir, in "Ermeni Propagandasının Amerikan Boyutu Üzerine," collected important information about the hatred of Turks in America because of the Armenian massacres. Bilal Şimşir points out what H. M. Jewet, American consul in Sivas, wrote in his report on 15 September 1887. Jewet explained that in order to help the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire, the American public collected and sent American missionaries living in the Ottoman Empire \$200,000 every year.<sup>66</sup> This shows that Armenian public supported Armenians not only in publications, books and newspapers, but also by collecting money.

There are many books discussing Armenians and Armenian incidents in the United States. For example, one of the books is the *Turkey Old and New* by Sutherland Menzies that evaluates the Eastern question from the standpoint of the European powers. There are other books like *The Life of Lord Strandford de Redcliffe* by Stanley Lane Poole, *Turkish Life in War Time* by Henry O. Dwight, *My Life and Times* and *Among the Turks* by Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities* by Edwin Bliss and *Bleeding Armenia* by A. W. Williams. Reverend E. Munsell Bliss, in his book points out that "the missionaries stood for the freedom for the oppressed (Armenians)." He called the Armenian *millet* as "the oppressed *millet*" and the Mohammedans as "the ones who have slaughtered men, women and children without mercy" in the Armenian incidents.<sup>67</sup> Bliss, who was a long time

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<sup>66</sup> Şimşir, 100.

<sup>67</sup> Rev. Edwin M. Bliss. *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*. New York: M. J. Coghlan, 1896. pp.: VII, 2.

missionary in Turkey worked for the priority of the Armenian national cause instead of their evangelical works. He wrote *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*. He vilified Turks for the murder of Armenians. Bliss stated that, "Armenians are the nation, the Sultan and his soldiers are the devil's scourge."<sup>68</sup> Missionaries, like Bliss, were sent to the places where the Armenians lived. Although they shared the same initial motives as missionaries like Hamlin, their observation in eastern Turkey led them to criticize the Ottoman government for its treatment of the Armenians.

Another writer, Robert Mirak, in his book *Torn Between Two Lands* explained that in order to help the Armenians, the missionaries established printing presses and newspaper among which *Avedaper* was the most important. The colleges like Robert College in Constantinople, Anatolia College in Marsovan, Central Turkey College in Aintab and Yeprad (Firat) College in Harput as well as the International College at Smyrna and St. Paul's Institute at Tarsus also served the Armenians for their education.<sup>69</sup> The American public, as a result, felt pity for the Armenians and sent money to the places like Bitlis in which the Sasun (a province of Bitlis) riot happened.<sup>70</sup>

There is also Mary Rogers who expressed her feelings about the Armenian incidents. Rogers was a woman missionary sent to Tarsus. She was more interested in the uprisings of the Armenians more than performing religious duties. She expressed her images of Turkey during the Armenian

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<sup>68</sup> Bliss, p.3.

<sup>69</sup> Mirak, 25; C. W. Wheeler to Judson Clark, Kharpert (Harput), February 22, 1887, *ABCFM* 16:8:9; and anonymous to N. G. Clark, Aintab, November 18, 1880, *ABCFM*, 16:9:7. Vol. 1.; Daniel, 53.

<sup>70</sup> Şimşir, 101, 106.

incidents. She described Turks as “bloodthirsty” and “savage” in her report to the United States. Rogers was interested in the Turco-Armenian incidents and expressed her feelings in a letter to *ABCFM* in 1912.<sup>71</sup> The *ABCFM* record of the year 1912 was after the terrible Adana incidents in April 1909. The Adana incidents that caused many Turks and Armenians to lose their lives were perceived by the Christian West as the “massacre of the Armenians by the Turks.”<sup>72</sup> However, Rogers put the educated Turks out of the “ignorant” category. “We have very friendly relations with the educated ones,” she explained. According to Rogers, this difference between the educated and the ignorant Turks would come from differences in approach. She would probably think that the educated ones would evaluate the Armenian incidents in Western point of view. Moreover, as Recep Şahin points out, from 1876 onwards there was the period of westernization in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>73</sup> So, the educated ones were probably more interested in what the Western World thought about the Armenian incidents.<sup>74</sup> However, according to Rogers, the Turks whom she called “ignorant” would think that the Armenians killed many Turks. Bliss’s and other writers’ books were in great demand in the United States, because their books referred to the emotions about the Armenian incidents and because Americans would have been curious and anxious about the Armenian problems and want to learn

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<sup>71</sup> *ABCFM*, Unit 5, Reel 6, V: 26, 1912.

<sup>72</sup> Salahi Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993, p. 296.

<sup>73</sup> Recep Şahin, *Tarih Boyunca Türk İdarelerinin Ermeni Politikaları*. İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 1988. p. 175.

<sup>74</sup> Kodaman, 431.; Nejat Göyünç, *Osmanlı İdaresinde Ermeniler*, (No place of publication); Gültepe Yayınları, 1983, p. 5.



what the missionaries thought and observed about the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

The Americans sent for the Armenians were mainly the consuls who evaluated the Armenian incidents from a political point of view. Therefore, their images of Turkey would be about the attitude of the government towards the Armenian incidents. There were also missionaries sent to help the Armenians. Those missionaries again were the ones who wrote about their observations of the Armenian incidents.

Helping communities in America also got with the Armenian question. They expressed their emotions and their love towards the Armenians by holding meetings and by collecting money for them. They warned President William Taft to be effective in helping the Armenians that were left in the Ottoman Empire. The communities tried to awaken all the world to help the Armenians. Missionaries described the Turks with the old Turkish stereotypes such as "ignorant, bloodthirsty and savage." In 1895, rallies were held in America for the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire to support the Armenians. They arranged meetings and collected money for the Armenians. They sent the money being collected by means of *Christian Herald*, a New York newspaper published by W.W. Howard, to be given to the Armenians in Van.<sup>75</sup> For example, \$150.000 was collected for the Armenians in Sivas suffering from the Sasun riot. The money collected for other places in the Ottoman Empire was more than the amount of the Sasun riot.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Şimşir, 102.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 101.

Newton Blanchard, Senator from Louisiana, on 3 December 1894 carried the problem of the Armenian massacres to the United States Senate. Blanchard stated that “the massacres would not be done in a civilized community and the Turks should be accused for the massacres by all the countries.”<sup>77</sup> The United States Senate evaluated the matter and decided to find evidence showing that the Ottoman government was the cause of the Armenian massacres. United States politicians were searching for evidence to prove that the Turks were tyrannical towards the Armenians. The Foreign Affairs Commission of the United States Senate accused Turkey of not following the rule of the Berlin Treaty that the Ottoman government would make reforms for the Armenians. The Senate required President Grover Cleveland to take severe precautions to end the Armenian question and to protect the life of the Armenians living in Turkey. To sum up, American political opinions about Turkey consisted of harsh warnings about Armenian incidents.<sup>78</sup>

There are also important sources in Ottoman Archives that illustrate the American perception of the Ottomans about the Armenian incidents. For example, on 11 December 1895, Washington consul Mavroyeni Bey wrote to Hariciye Nazırı Tevfik Paşa that according to the letters of American missionaries sent from the Ottoman Empire to United States, nearly half a million Armenians were face-to-face with hunger. This kind of news increased American sympathy and aid for Armenians.<sup>79</sup> Harsh journalistic criticism provoked a public reaction against the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>78</sup> Şimşir, 114.

<sup>79</sup> “Washington Sefiri Mavoyeni Bey'den Hariciye Nazırı Tevfik Paşa'ya”, 11 Aralık No: 8120/458, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeniler*, Cilt 38, İstanbul: 1992.

The Armenian incidents did not end in 1900. In 1909, there were the Adana incidents that increased American enmity towards Turkey. Armenians rioted to set up a greater Armenia that led to the terrible Adana incidents in 1909.<sup>80</sup> Turco-Armenian relations became very strained after the Adana incidents in which many Turks and Armenians lost their lives and which was echoed to the Christian West as the “massacre of the Armenians by the Turks. Therefore, American enmity increased towards Turks. American authorities and American public protested the incidents at Adana and sent messages to President William Taft to stop the Armenian massacres. There are some examples to show the protest against Turks below.

Bilal Şimşir discusses the complaints of the missionaries about the Armenian incidents in the Ottoman Empire. On 27 April 1909, M. Bagdararian and S. S. Yenovkian, who were priests, sent a message to President William Taft “to end the miseries that the Armenians suffered from and to call the whole humanity, Christianity and America to help the Armenians.”<sup>81</sup> On 30 April 1909, Arthur E. Smith, an American farmer, sent a letter to President Taft to “stop the Armenian incidents in the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>82</sup> Moreover, a protest meeting was held to show hatred for Turkey on 7 May 1909 in California. According to this meeting, the cause of the incidents were the Turks. Turks were referred as “wild” and “barbarian.” And a message was sent to the White House to end the Armenian incidents in Adana and Çukurova.<sup>83</sup> Another protest meeting was held on 11 May 1909 in Los Angeles. In Illinois, a committee was established named as American Friends

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<sup>80</sup> Sonyel, 296.

<sup>81</sup> *United States National Archive*, M. 862/1060.

<sup>82</sup> *United States National Archive*, M. 862/1061

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, M-862/1061.

of Armenians. This committee increased its activities after the Adana incidents, held a meeting on 10 May 1909, and sent letters to American president and Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>84</sup> In New York, another meeting was held on 8 May 1909. The President of the meeting sent to President William Taft a message signed by A. Agrazian protesting the violence in the Armenian incidents and asking for help for the Armenians that were left. And the same kind of meetings were held in New Jersey, California, Virginia.<sup>85</sup>

As already explained, missionary images of Turkey changed according to their aims, activities and their location in different times. Since different American missionary groups were sent to the Ottoman Empire in different times, their images of Turkey also expressed changes in time. For example, Hamlin, a long-term missionary specializing in education in the Empire for twenty years, wrote about the loyalty of the Armenians to the Ottoman Empire. Describing relationships between the Armenians and the Turks, Hamlin wrote that "Armenians lived amicably with the Turks. The Turk is honest, kind, social, hospitable being, if you don't tread on his corns; and the stranger is very foolish to do that. I have experienced unbounded hospitality from them."<sup>86</sup> Hamlin evaluates the Armenians in the same article as the "favored subjects of an empire guided by the great powers of Europe." Hamlin was getting beyond the old Turkish stereotypes by the "kind, social, hospitable" Turk image instead of "barbaric, severe, violent and terrible"

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., T-862/1060.

<sup>85</sup> Şimşir, 122.

<sup>86</sup> Cyrus Hamlin, "The Genesis and Evolution of the Turkish Massacre of Armenian Subjects," *The Journal of American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1898. quoted in Seçil Akgün, "The Turkish Image in the Reports of the American Missionaries in Turkey," *I. Uluslararası Seyahatnamelerde Türk ve Batı İmaji Sempozyumu Belgeleri*, Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, 1985, p. 328.

Turkish image. Cyrus Hamlin wrote "The Genesis and Evolution of the Turkish Massacre of Armenian Subjects" for *The Journal of American Antiquarian Society* in 1898.<sup>87</sup> This date was important for the Turco-Armenian incidents that caused the straining of Turco-Armenian relations. However, since Hamlin's activities were mostly towards education and since he observed Turkish people interested in education, he would think for the benefit of the Turks. The ones who would read Hamlin's article in *The Journal of American Antiquarian Society* would think of Turks as "hospitable, kind and friendly." Probably, they would go beyond the old Turkish stereotypes such as "barbaric, severe, violent and terrible." Cyrus Hamlin was not directly in contact with the Armenians. He was mainly interested in the education in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, he would possibly think positively about the Armenian attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire. Different groups of Americans had different images of Turkey.

Some American missionary women exemplified the difference in how Americans evaluated Turks in light of the Armenian incidents. For example, Mrs. Knapp in her memoirs criticized the Turks with the severest and very hostile views about the Ottoman government because of the Armenian incidents. However, she also admitted that the Turkish authorities were respectful towards women missionaries, and noted that everybody in the Ottoman Empire treated them with courtesy.<sup>88</sup>

To sum up, the Armenian incidents perpetuated old Turkish stereotypes in the United States. American consuls, diplomatic

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 328.

<sup>88</sup> ABCFM Records, Dr. Dodd, Unit: V, Reel: 631, V. 0041.

representatives and missionaries who observed the Ottoman actions towards the Armenians wrote to *ABCFM*, to newspapers, journals and magazines about the terrible Armenian incidents and aroused the sympathy of the Americans towards Armenians. They helped the Armenians in schools to improve their education and in health centers to save them from diseases. Beginning in 1877, images of Turkey changed from that of missionaries in the prior half century. The old missionaries supported the people living in the Ottoman Empire with philanthropic activities. However, the people who were sent to the eastern Ottoman Empire in 1877-1878 and onwards observed the Armenian incidents and wrote critically about the Ottoman Empire. They focused on the Armenian question. Therefore, the image of Turkey changed because of the Armenian incidents.

#### IV. THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IMAGES OF TURKEY, 1901-1920

The attitudes of the American press from 1900 and 1914 owed much to the earlier writing of missionaries, but they also differed in important ways. The American public expressed their images about the Ottoman government and about the people living in the Ottoman Empire in newspapers, in journals, magazines and editorials. Although the nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers had lower standards of reporting, their influence was very great.

The Americans who lived in Turkey were mainly missionaries, diplomatic representatives, doctors, priests, and teachers. They expressed their observations about the Ottoman government and about the people living in the Ottoman Empire through their letter correspondences with the *ABCFM* and *The Missionary Herald* which was one of the newspapers that collected the reports and letters of the missionaries. The missionaries also wrote their observations to the other newspapers, journals, and magazines. They wrote their diaries and memoirs in the Ottoman Empire and later published them. Americans learned most of what they knew from the observations of the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. The missionaries wrote about the constitutional developments, the reforms and economic and social changes in the Ottoman Empire. However, the Turkish images of the American public were not same as those of the missionaries. The American public would add their own American perception of Turkey to what the *ABCFM* staff thought. Even though American public images of Turkey depended on what the missionaries wrote to the United States, the American public added criticisms to what the missionaries thought as evidenced in the

editorials journals like *The American Review of the Reviews*. The American public's images of Turkey closely corresponded to the constitutional developments, reforms and economic and social changes in the Empire.

However, it would be an exaggeration to say that only the newspaper accounts influenced by missionaries shaped public opinion. Independent reporting on the constitutional changes of Abdülhamit II, the Young Turks, and reforms, as well as the economic and social changes in the Empire. The newspapers were full of what the *ABCFM* staff thought, but the American public expressed their own images of Turkey through other ways such as they did in the protest for the Armenian incidents. They held meetings, conferences and sent telegraphs the President William Taft to prevent the Armenian incidents in the Ottoman Empire. This would be a hint to understand that the American public attitudes towards Ottoman Empire changed according to what the missionaries, soldiers and consuls wrote to the United States. This means that different groups of Americans living in the Ottoman Empire produced contrasting American images of Turkey in the United States.

#### A. Abdülhamit II and the Period of his Reign

In this chapter, there will be the American public images of Turkey and the changes of images between the years 1901 and 1914 expressed in the journals, magazines, newspapers and the editorials. It was possible only to find the primary sources between the years 1901 and 1914. On the other hand, this period was important for the constitutional changes, for the reforms and for the social and political reforms. Abdülhamit II was on the throne of the



Ottoman Empire until 1909. Abdülhamit II accelerated the end of the Ottoman Empire in his period. The economy and the finance of the Empire was very bad.<sup>89</sup> He used a rigid regime by evaluating the national and liberal activities in the Empire as the trick of the foreign countries.<sup>90</sup> He had the European nickname of “the red sultan” because of his repression of Armenian insurgence between 1894 and 1896.<sup>91</sup>

During the reign of Abdülhamit II, there were certain rules about the people living in the Empire. All Ottomans were equal in the eyes of the Law, and had the same rights and owed the same duties towards their country without prejudice to religion. Islam was the State religion, but the State would protect the free exercise of all faiths professed in the Empire and would have religious privileges granted to various bodies. All Ottomans would hold public office according to their fitness, merit and ability.<sup>92</sup> However, most of these rights were ineffective. On the contrary, the constitution protected the rights of the sultan who had full executive power. The constitution did not provide for freedom of thought, movement, assembly, speech, work and so on.<sup>93</sup> The American press criticized these aspects of Abdülhamit II's reign. The criticisms would be divided into the subjects of government, reforms, and censorship on the books. Abdülhamit II was not generally favored in these publications. He was mostly criticized during his reign. For example, in 1901,

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<sup>89</sup> Sonyel, 238.

<sup>90</sup> Oral Sander, *Siyasi Tarih: İlkçağlardan 1918'e*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1994, p. 232.

<sup>91</sup> Sonyel, 242.

<sup>92</sup> Sonyel, 239.; Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 8. p. 128.

<sup>93</sup> Sonyel, 240.

M. Constans, ambassador to Turkey called Abdülhamit II a “hated autocrat who usurped authority in his reign.”<sup>94</sup>

### 1. The Ottoman Government

Since there were not any good impressions about Abdülhamit II and his period, the press criticized his reign in the magazines and journals. For example, in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* in 1903, The Turkish government was described as having no budget and no central office for checking off the income and expenditures. Here, there is a historical mistake because *Divan-ı Mühasebat* was responsible for checking off the income and expenditures. Therefore, in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, this institution might have been criticized. Again the Sultan's richness was pointed out. The wretched financial condition of the Ottoman Empire, the corruption of the officials because of taking bribery and the common people's misery because of bearing the burdens of taxation was explained.<sup>95</sup> The American critics of Abdülhamit II emphasized the corruption of the government in his reign.

Abdülhamit II was also called “The unspeakable Turk” in *The Outlook* in 1903 because of his attitudes in the government. He was said to have committed four grievous wrongs: allowing the wages of his soldiers and civil officials to remain overdue; miscarriage of justice in his courts; unjustly centralizing the power of the State; and encouraging the massacre of those

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<sup>94</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, “The Sultan of Turkey,” *The Outlook*, September 19, 72 (1902): 66-77, p. 67.

<sup>95</sup> “Reform in Turkey,” *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, 28 (1903): 93-94. p. 93.

who differ from him, especially in religion.<sup>96</sup> According to *The Outlook*, he was “unspeakable” because of his bad reign and his grievous wrongs.

It is obvious from most of the newspapers and magazines that the American public image about the Ottoman government is full of harsh criticism because of Abdülhamit II's reign. However, these harsh images about the Ottoman government were of those who were short-term observers in the Ottoman Empire. However, some short-term observers found positive qualities in the Ottoman government. Anna Bowman Dodd in *The Century Magazine* explained her Turkish images in 1903. The author and her husband of this article were members of General Horace Porter's party during the visit to Constantinople of the American ambassador to France, when they received marked attentions from the Sultan and his officials. She wrote:

The Turk is now become the “unspeakable.” Turkey is the nation above all others at which hands must be uplifted, eyes virtuously rolled, and the political garment withheld from compromising contact. Yet when one comes to know him, even a little, the Turk is found to be neither so very terrible nor so hardened in his brutality as we had supposed him.<sup>97</sup>

Since Anna Bowman Dodd and her husband received marked attentions from the Sultan and Turkish officials, instead of observing the general situation of the Ottoman government, they expressed their observation on the hospitality of the Sultan and his officials. The American perception of individual Turks was different from that of their images about the Ottoman

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<sup>96</sup> “The Unspeakable Turk,” *The Outlook*, 15 August, 1903, pp.: 929-931, p. 929.

<sup>97</sup> Anna Bowman Dodd, “The New Woman in Turkey: How Ancient Rights and Modern Dress Protect and Improve the Lot of Turkish Women,” *The Century Magazine*, 66 (1903): 925-933, p. 925.

government. There are examples of this in the American missionary perception of the Ottomans.

## 2. The Reforms

The period of Abdülhamit II was included in the westernization period in the Ottoman Empire. Although the reforms were important in the westernization period in the Ottoman Empire, during the reign of Abdülhamit II, the government remained indifferent to the reforms. Although his reign saw positive advances in education for both Muslim and non-Muslims, the education received in the schools was of very little benefit. Therefore, in most of the editorials such as *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, “the impossibility of reforms in Turkey” was pointed out. Because, the Ottoman government was called “corrupted and inefficient.” The reason would be that there was no budget and no central office for checking off the income and expenditures. The government was corrupted because bribery and corruption were spread among the officials, high and low.<sup>98</sup>

Again in 1903, in *The Outlook*, there is an article explaining the corruption of Turkish rule and administration. Therefore, the impossibility of reforms was again emphasized because of the corruption of Turkish rule and administration. In the article it was stated that “the only radical reforms that have ever been introduced into the Ottoman Empire have been by force alone and the removal of the incorrigible barbarism of the Sultan’s personal government.”<sup>99</sup> Here there is the stereotype of the “barbarism” of the Sultan’s

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<sup>98</sup> Sonyel, 243.

<sup>99</sup> A Native of Turkey, “Islamic Government and the Macedonian Situation,” *The Outlook*, 75 (1903): 159-163.

personal government and the “impossibility of having reforms without any force.” The native of Turkey in *The Outlook* said that the government was a personal possession of the Sultan. Instead of the progress of reforms, the government was indifferent to the reforms. On the other hand, the government became a personal possession of the Sultan.

### 3. Censorship on the Books

In addition to the American public images about the Ottoman government, reforms, and justice in the government, there is another point of criticism about the censorship put on the books by the government of Abdülhamit II. The books published in foreign countries were censored. Every periodical and book would be examined by the *Encümen-i Teftiş ve Mayene* and *Tibbiye-i Bahane*.<sup>100</sup> The reason would be that there might be some information awakening the national feelings among the different *millet*s living in the Ottoman Empire. And there would be some information against the rules of Islam. In *The Outlook*, there is an article called “The Spectator” that explains the Ottoman government censored most of the foreign books in the Empire. The Turkish Department of Public Education was a discussion point, because the editions of the Bible were censored. “Christ Jesus came to save sinners,” be changed to “Christ Jesus came to save Christian sinners.”<sup>101</sup> The Department of Public Education also worked on the political terms such as “To arms! To arms!” that would rouse all Armenian to revolt<sup>102</sup>. The government argued that instead of contesting the subjects of politics or the

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<sup>100</sup> *ABCFM*, 16:9:3. Vol. 21. No: 199; *ABCFM* 16:6, Vol. 8, No: 79B.

<sup>101</sup> “The Spectator,” *The Outlook*, 22 August, 1903: 974-976.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 976.

subjects not included in Islam, the books should have constantly spoken in the praise of Abdulhamit II.<sup>103</sup>

## B. Young Turks' Policies in the Ottoman Empire

Abdülhamit II was dethroned in 1909 after the event of 31 March. In fact, Abdülhamit II's period ended in 1908. However, at the end of this event, his reign officially ended. Sultan V. Mehmet Reşat was on the throne from 1909 to 1918. Until the end of the Empire, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was responsible for the government of the Empire. The constitution was amended in 1909 to give more power to parliament. Many of the political opponents of Abdülhamit II had allowed the CUP to move into a more prominent position in government. The CUP won an important majority in the election of April 1912. Nevertheless, its supporters had already begun to disappear at the end of the military losses to Italy during the Turco-Italian war in Libya (October 1911). CUP was out of office in July 1912 and replaced by a political coalition called the Liberal Union. However, the Liberal Union also lost support following defeats in the Balkans.<sup>104</sup> With these political developments, the Young Turks were mostly favored by the American public with their efforts to have reforms in the Ottoman Empire.

### 1. Reforms

The Young Turks had important internal development from 1908 to 1918. Their administrative reforms, especially that of the provincial

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 975.

<sup>104</sup> Sonyel, 250.; Fethi Okyar, *Üç Devirde Bir Adam*, İstanbul, 1980, pp. 183-4 and 196.; Geoffrey Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, London: Ernest Benn limited, 1974, p. 56.

administration in 1913, led to an increase of centralization. However, the Ottoman central government, especially in the provinces away from İstanbul, was still weak when compared with the European standards. The Young Turks gave importance to primary education. The process of secularization of the law was important for them. The development of national journalism and women's position in society was important in this period.<sup>105</sup>

Americans commented on the social and political change in the period in the American magazines, journals and newspapers. In most of the articles, the Young Turks were favored, because they supported the reforms in the Empire. For example in 1911, Sultan Mehmed V was criticized by Mr. Stead, editor of the *English Review of Reviews*. Mr. Stead spent a month in Constantinople and had a personal interview with the Sultan. He describes this meeting of the Sultan:

To put the case at its worst with frank brutality, the Sultan is regarded as a weak old man, remarkable neither for intellect, energy, nor resolution, advanced in years and infirm of body, who is a mere puppet in the hands of the Young Turks... He may be a weak, timid, irresolute, inexperienced old man. But he is still the man on the throne, the legitimate heir and accepted representative of the House of Othman, the recognized chief of the Moslem world.<sup>106</sup>

As Mr. Stead also emphasizes, the general American image of Turkey was the "inexperience" of the governors in the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Mehmet V was on the throne as a heir. Although he was "timid, weak, and irresolute", he was still on the throne. The general perception about the governors at this

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<sup>105</sup> Sonyel, 251.

<sup>106</sup> W. T. Stead, ed., "Sultan Mehmed V," *The American Review of Reviews*, 44 (1911): 492-493. p. 492.

period was that they did not have enough capacity for governing. On the other hand, the Young Turks were supported in most of the publications, because they were against the Ottoman government and were trying to make reforms for the development of the society.<sup>107</sup> This would probably mean that Americans liked the Young Turks.

## 2. The Awakening of Women to have Rights in the Ottoman Society

Since the Young Turks were trying to make reforms for the development of the society, there were some changes with the women. The women would want to have some rights in education, in marriage, and in clothes style in the Ottoman society. In *The Outlook* in 1911, there was an article called "The Awakening of the Turkish Woman." In this article, the Young Turks' attitudes towards the education, progress and liberty in the society was emphasized. This is an important article that explains the development of women's status in society:

At first this revolution was superficial, but its power increased, and today the Young Turk, who stands for progress and liberty, is said to be partly the result of this introduction of the foreign educational element.<sup>108</sup>

Since the Young Turks tried to make reforms for the young Turkey, there was an awakening among women, and development in education. As the article emphasizes, the foreign schools would be the main reason for the development of women's education. The education of women was important in the foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire. The missionaries who worked

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<sup>107</sup> Alan Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, London: John Murray, 1992, p. 211.

<sup>108</sup> "The Awakening of the Turkish Woman," *The Outlook*, 98 (1911): 757-758.



in the foreign schools like Cyrus Hamlin would probably be the first ones that explained the need for education in the Ottoman Empire. Like the missionaries, the Young Turks favored women's education. Therefore, Americans liked the Young Turks. However, because of the weakening situation of the Ottoman Empire, there was a lack of funds to make reforms. American missionaries in the foreign schools knew this fact and helped the education of women with their funds. The "private enterprise" was the funds of the missionaries to help the reforms in Turkey. This was stated in *The American Review of Reviews* in an article called "Progress Among Young Turkey's Women":

As is generally the case with reforms in Turkey, the principal difficulty is the lack of funds. The government is too poor to shoulder the scheme, so much is being done by private enterprise.<sup>109</sup>

The women in the Young Turks' period were referred as the "advanced" women since they worked as strenuously as did the men to bring about revolution. Patriotic Turkish women proved themselves the safest messengers and the easiest channel of communication whereby the Congress of Union and Progress (CUP) could carry out its secret preparations and secret propaganda for the education of women. They were referred as "advanced" in *The American Review of Reviews* in 1903, because they were eager to have education more than everybody. Corruption limited government funds for women's education. Since there weren't enough funds, the private enterprise of the foreign schools, like the American missionaries'

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<sup>109</sup> "Progress Among Young Turkey's Women," *The American Review of Reviews*, 43 (1911): 752.

would help the education of women. Although there was the lack of funds to make reforms, Turks were said to have awoken from a nightmare with the reforms of the Young Turks. Ameen Rihani, a writer in *The Forum*, explained that the Young Turks tried to awaken the Ottoman people from a nightmare of “long suffering” and “long asleep” after the overturn of the Ottoman throne.<sup>110</sup>

After the fall of Abdulhamit II, there was a change in American public Turkish image about women. Because, the general idea was that women had obstacles to have their rights in the reign of Abdülhamit II and the Sultan was against the liberation of women. Therefore, after the fall of Abdülhamit II, the newspapers, magazines and journals wrote about the awakening of Turkish woman. For example, Louis Morgan Sill in *Harper's Weekly* wrote “Some Views of a Turkish Lady” in 1912. The name of this lady was “Zeyneb” in Turkey. However, she left Turkey and went to France because she was married to a man whom she did not want to get married in Turkey. She changed her name in France as Mme. Zennour Noury de Chateauneuf. She knew French, English, Turkish, Italian, Persian, Arabic, and a little German and Russian. She did not favor Sultan Abdülhamit II because she thought that the Sultan was against the liberation of women. However, she praised Turks as individuals. Again, there is the criticism of the Ottoman government whereas the individual Turks were favored because of their kindness.

The Turks [said Madame de Chateauneuf] are more clever, kind, and indulgent than they are shrewd or practical. The massacres which western people associate always with them are generally done by foreigners in the Turkish dominions, of whom there are so many and whom I must admit the Turks have failed really to govern. They have

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<sup>110</sup> Ameen Rihani, “The Crisis of Islam,” *The Forum*, 47 (1912): 562-570, p. 564.

only been kind. They have always been generous to foreigners. Do you know that ever since the Turks have had dominion in Europe the foreigners in my country have never been asked to pay taxes? The Turks are more idealist than they are business men, as you see. In commerce and in finance they are far behind the times. Did you know, too, that until the Conseil de l'Europe the Christians and Jews in Turkey were never admitted to the army?<sup>111</sup>

Madame de Chateauneuf pointed out an old Turkish stereotype known by western people which was "the massacres" of the Ottomans. However, Madame said that this was not true, because Turks were "kind" towards the *millets* living in the Ottoman Empire and that Turks were always generous to foreigners (*millets*) living in the Empire. The groups living in the Ottoman government were only asked to pay a tax called "cizye." In commerce, business and finance the Turks were far behind. Chateauneuf explained the Turks as being idealist. She also explains the generosity of the Turks towards the foreigners.

#### a. Education

The articles of "Progress Among Young Turkey's Women", "Some Views of a Turkish Lady", and "The Awakening of the Turkish Women" show that women in the Ottoman Empire would express their thoughts by sending articles to *The Outlook* and *The American Review of Reviews*. Probably, they could not send the articles themselves, but by being in communication with the missionaries. This would illustrate the awakening of women to have rights in some fields such as in education, in marriage and in clothes style. The

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<sup>111</sup> Louise Morgan Sill, "Some Views of a Turkish lady." *The Outlook*, 56 (1912): 23.

Young Turks aimed these reforms. However, it would be said that although some reforms were prepared for women in the Young Turk period (1908-1918), women were still far from having full equality with men. They were unable to go to public places such as theaters and restaurants with men, even with their husbands. In the higher schools and the university they could not join the classes with men. They had to go to the private classes or listen to the lessons behind the curtains in the classrooms. However, in the CUP period, it would be said that women were given a chance to have the same secular education as men.<sup>112</sup>

During the CUP period, The Ministry of Education expanded elementary and middle education for girls. In this way, women were admitted to the higher schools. The first high school was opened in 1911 for girls. Trade schools were established to teach not only to cook and sew, but also to give women training. After this education, women would earn a living as secretaries, nurses, and teachers. Especially city women began to work in textile and tobacco factories. They replaced men who were taken into the army. They also worked in businesses and stores.<sup>113</sup>

Still, missionaries criticized Turkish women's education in ways reminiscent of Ford and Hamlin half a century earlier. In a 1912 letter to the *ABCFM*, Livengood, a missionary from Euphrates College in Harput, criticized the Islamic practice of veiling women. He stated that, "one of the chief obstacles to progress in the position of the Turkish women was the veil which did not allow women to show their faces in public nor converse or eat

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<sup>112</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution, and Republic*, Vol. II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977. pp.: 307-308.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 307.

in the same room with men.”<sup>114</sup> There were some other obstacles to progress. At the close of the First World War, Mary Caroline Holmes, a woman missionary to Syria, described these obstacles. Although women were eager to be educated, there were a few women that were educated to fit them for self support. Instead, they had not been trained to be wage earners. Their property, if they had any, went to necessities and not schooling. Women lacked rights.<sup>115</sup> Another important criticism came from a missionary wife who took exception to customs by which girls generally married by their fifteenth year. She complained that marriage occurred without the consent of the girl, either asked or given.<sup>116</sup> Holmes called the women in Turkey “uneducated” or if they had education, it was very little, because of the indifference of the fathers, husbands and the government to education of women.<sup>117</sup> Although women volunteered for education, their husbands and the government prevented them from getting education.

*ABCFM* record’s date of 1912 was the period when Abdülhamit was deposed and replaced by Mehmet V (1909-1918), the son of Abdülmecit in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>118</sup> In this period, by the efforts of the Young Turks there was considerable attention especially to primary education. They tried to work for the process of secularization of the law. There was also a major development in national journalism, and an improvement in the position of women. This period was one of intense social and political debate and

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<sup>114</sup> *ABCFM* Records: Unit V, Reel: 713. ,V. 2513, Harput, 1912.

<sup>115</sup> Hall, 173.

<sup>116</sup> Daniel, 58.

<sup>117</sup> William Hall, ed., *Reconstruction in Turkey: A Series of Reports Compiled for the American Committee of Armenian and Syrian Relief*, New York: For Private Distribution Only, 1918, p. 173.

<sup>118</sup> Sonyel, 250.

change.<sup>119</sup> As the social and political changes occurred in the Ottoman Empire, the images about Turkey began to change. American discussions of Turkey focused on the obstacles to progress in 1912. For example, there would be obstacles to progress without reforms in the clothes style of women such as the veil.

With the change of women's status in society, the American public's image of Turkish women also changed. The American public paid attention women's education in Turkey. For example, in Louise Morgan Sill's article above, "Some Views of a Turkish Lady." in 1912, it is clear that at least some women awakened to state their own ideas about Turkish people or about the attitude of the government towards the foreigners freely. Mme Zennour Noury de Chateauneuf was an educated women in 1912. Here, it is clear to see the desire of women to be free to express their ideas, to have their education and to get married. This shows the awakening of women towards education. Therefore, the newspapers, magazines and journals wrote that the Turkish woman has "turned their attention increasingly toward education."<sup>120</sup> With the awakening towards education, there is the change of Turkish image in the American publications towards the education of women. Americans' favorable reaction to female education affected their general outlook on Turkey. Americans would think that Turkey was becoming modernized by giving importance to the education of women. The old Turkish image that "Women in Turkey were uneducated." would probably outmode in the United States.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>120</sup> "The Awakening of the Turkish Woman," *The Outlook*, 98 (1911): 757.

## b. Marriage

During the CUP period, legal reforms were prepared to give women a position equal with that of men in marriage and inheritance. A law in 1916 gave women the right to get divorced if they did not have a good life with their husbands and if their husbands wanted to get to another women. After that in 1917, the Code of Family Law was promulgated. With this law, the marriage contract became a secular contract and based on the secular regulations.<sup>121</sup>

With the expansion of women's rights in the period of Young Turks, it would be said that Turkish women were not afraid to express their ideas. For example, in Louise Morgan Sill's article titled as "Some Views of a Turkish Lady, " it is possible to see the ideas of a Turkish lady about polygamy. She said that polygamy was rare in Turkey because of two reasons. The first one was that because polygamy is too expensive and the second one was that women did not accept it anymore.<sup>122</sup> It was because the women began to be educated and to learn to make their own decisions.

## c. Clothes Style

During the CUP period, women began to discard the veil in public and wear European-style clothing.<sup>123</sup> It is possible to see the freedom of women to express their ideas about veil in an article titled as "Growth of the Mohammedan Feminist Women in Turkey" in *The Current Opinion* in 1914, there is a discussion about "the veil" of women in the Empire. It was thought that with the veil women were not allowed to talk to a man. But, in this way, it was said that there was no current of opinions and feelings between them. It

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<sup>121</sup> Palmer, 233.

<sup>122</sup> Louise Morgan Sill, "Some Views of a Turkish Lady," *The Outlook*, 56 (1912): 23.

<sup>123</sup> Palmer, 233.

was said in the article that a woman with a veil could not develop individuality and bring out her best possibilities and powers. The veil was explained as a badge of inferiority and slavery. The veil was a custom. In addition to the veil, polygamy was discussed. Polygamy was explained as a moral monstrosity. With education, both would decrease and finally end.<sup>124</sup>

It was said that Mohammedan women in Turkey awoke for feminism. They organized a "Society for the Defense of the Rights of Women". They had their official organ, *Woman's World (Kadınlar Dünyası)* published weekly at Constantinople. Some of the aims of the society were to transform the outdoor costume of Turkish women, to improve the rules of marriage according to the needs of common sense, to start Turkish women into life in society; to encourage women to the working life, to open schools to educate young Turkish girls. These aims would transform Mohammedan Turkish women in law and custom. This shows that some Turkish women had the idea of economic independence and intellectual training even in 1914.<sup>125</sup>

This awakening in women would be reflected in the American public in newspapers, in magazines and journals. Therefore, it would be said that with the change in women's social and economic life, there was a change in the American public's image about Turkish women in the period of Young Turks. Journalists would think that Turkey was becoming modernized by giving attention to women's education and that Turkey was trying to be westernized. This means that American attitudes turned into positive about the education

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<sup>124</sup> "Growth of the Mohammedian Feminist Movement in Turkey," *Current Opinion*, 57 (1914): 118-119.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.



of women in Turkey. They wrote articles praising the Young Turks in their efforts to make reforms in Turkey.

### C. World War I

After the period of the Young Turks comes the difficult days for Turkey. World War I begins. In the period of World War I. Turkey was called "The Sick Man" at Bosphorus. This was a metaphor that signified the Ottoman Empire for many years. This anthropomorphic metaphor was first told by Nicholas I in a conversation to the British ambassador Hamilton Seymour on January 1853. Nicholas I said: "The country is falling to pieces-who can say when?"<sup>126</sup>

Connected with the old metaphor the "Sick Man" at Bosphorus, the American public image on Turks was concerning the end of the Ottoman Empire. They mainly reflect the idea that the entrance of the Ottoman Empire in World War I is a mistake. Therefore, it could be said that the American public image on Turks changed with 1914 because World War I. In most of the American magazines, journals and newspapers, Turkey was advised not to enter World War I. For example, in *The Outlook* in 1914, it was stated:

There is the "Sick Man" to be shared that possesses of that wonderful place, Constantinople, the bridge between Europe and Asia. No wonder that Constantinople, the bridge to all this, is jealously watched by the nations of Europe, for it will bring new wealth and power to the successor of the present regime. Three great Powers are competitors for this succession, and whenever one of them seems to get nearer to the coveted goal the other two will be her bitter enemies.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Alan Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, London: Alan Plamer, 1992, p. 118.

<sup>127</sup> "Germany and Turkey," *The Outlook*, 108 81914): 126-127.

In the article the reasons for the beginning of World War I are given. For example, Russia's aim for opening the door for her fleet and her commerce of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean; England's aim for controlling the shortest way to India and China; Germany's aim for improving her armies and defend their possessions against the pressure from East and West by being a friend of Austria and of Turkey.<sup>128</sup>

In another article in *The Outlook*, Turkey was again advised not to enter World War I:

By going into this war it would seem almost certain that Turkey had signed her own death warrant. But if she were not to go into the war, what chance of life would there be for her? Rather than have other nations sign her death warrant, perhaps she has chosen to sign it herself.<sup>129</sup>

Rev. George F. Herrick, a fifty years resident of Constantinople, advised Turkey to be neutral in World War I. Herrick wrote that Germany used every effort, made large promises, encouraged Turkey to join Germany against England, France and Russia. Herrick also pointed out that if Turkey was met in a friendly spirit, in no hostile manner, Turkey might become a reconciler of racial antagonisms within her own borders and a real safeguard to peace between East and West.<sup>130</sup>

From the articles published in 1914, it is possible to understand that the American attitudes were towards neutrality of Turkey in World War I. In most of the American publications in 1914, it was thought that since Turkey was in the middle of East and West, she was a "Sick Man" at Bosphorus to

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>129</sup> "Turkey and the War," *The Outlook*, 11 November, 1914, pp.: 572-575.

<sup>130</sup> George F. Herrick, "The Turkish Crisis and American Interests," *The American Review of Reviews*, 50 (1914): 475-476.

be shared. However, Turkey's location did not cause the "Sick Man" metaphor. In fact, western attitudes of long duration and the 19th century defeat of Turkey in its colonial wars caused it. However, because of her location, in most of the American newspapers, magazines and journals, Turkey was advised to be neutral at World War I. Because, if Turkey would enter the war, she would sign her own end. This advice would express the philanthropic aim of America in Turkey.

For example, George F. Herrick, served as the president of Anatolia College, wrote "Turkey and Her Friends" in *The American Review Reviews* in 1914 explaining that America was the real friend of Turkey, because American interests were chiefly philanthropic. He wrote:

The chief American interests in Turkey have been, and will still be, philanthropic interests. These institutions, churches, schools, hospitals, the press, now firmly established at all the strategic centers of Turkey, have cost many millions of dollars and are worked by between three hundred and four hundred adult Americans. In the present conflict it will be the desire and the purpose of every power involved that no harm shall come to the persons or the institutions of Americans.<sup>131</sup>

However, George F. Herrick implies that his attitudes towards Turkey in World War I changed. It seems to be more of a plea that charitable American institutions be left alone. Therefore, American attitudes towards Turkey included advice not to enter World War I and not to forget the philanthropic aids of the United States to Turkey. Herrick explained the importance of the chief American philanthropic interests in Turkey. He explained as if Turkey

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<sup>131</sup> George F. Herrick. "Turkey and her Friends," *The American Review of Reviews*, 50 (1914): 707-709.

forgot how Americans worked hard in schools, hospitals, churches, institutions and the press. It seems as if Turkey was not aware of the philanthropic aims of the American missionaries. By "No harm would come to the persons or the institutions of Americans." Herrick would probably mean that if Turkey did not know who was her real friend and would leave the American charitable institutions alone, no harm would come to the American missionaries or the institutions. However, charitable American institutions and American missionaries would leave Turkey alone. In fact, Herrick warned Turkey about her attitude towards the charitable American institutions.

American public images of Turkey changed beginning from 1901 to 1914 due to Abdülhamit II and the characteristics of his period such as the incapability of reforms, the lack of education of women, and the censorship put on the books. However, the policy of the Young Turks arouse sympathy towards Turkey, because their policy of making reforms, educating women and developing primary education was the same as what the American missionaries were trying to do in the Ottoman Empire . In fact, the changes between the government of Abdülhamit II and the Young Turks would cause differences in the images of Turkey. The reign of Abdülhamit II caused negative changes until 1909 whereas the Young Turks' caused positive changes on the American images of Turkey from 1909 to 1914. Americans discussing Abdülhamit II expressed negative images, while those considering the Young Turks praised Turkey. The same Americans commented on both phases of 1900-1914. Positive images included the reforms, the education of women, the changes in marriage laws, clothes style and education. Some of the old stereotypes such as "ignorant Turks" outmoded because of the

development in education in Turkey. However, the negative images included the reign of Abdülhamit II because of the behavior of the government towards the *millets* and towards the Armenian incidents and because of the indifference to make reforms. These negative images, in fact, caused the continuation of the old stereotypes.

It is clear that the American attitudes differed in 1914 from that of 1820, because different groups of Americans came to the Ottoman Empire. Because of this difference in groups, the images of Turkey changed from 1820 to 1914. The American missionaries in 1820 expressed their images of the Ottoman Empire by observing if the Empire was a good field to send new missionaries from America. They expressed their images during their philanthropic activities in schools, in health centers and in female education. However, the Armenian incidents in 1876 and onwards recreated the old Turkish stereotypes in the American public. Because the missionaries evaluated the Armenian incidents in a harsh manner.

American public images of Turkey changed due to the changes in the groups of Americans that evaluated the changes in the Ottoman Empire in different times. The group of Americans were the American journalists that evaluated the social, political and constitutional changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire. However, the journalists evaluated the events of which missionaries informed them. In addition to the missionary information, American public added their own images of Turkey. The content of the images about the period of Abdülhamit II, the Armenian incidents, the Young Turks' policies in the Ottoman Empire and World War I. Since there was difference in periods, each period would show the characteristics of its time.

For example , the American journalists wrote critically about the period of Abdülhamit II in newspapers because of his indifference towards education and reforms and especially because of his attitude towards the Armenian incidents. They wrote that Abdülhamit II was indifferent to the Armenians and caused many of them die at the end of Armenian incidents such as in Adana, Bitlis and Erzurum. Therefore, Americans called Abdülhamit II “The red Sultan.” They portrayed Abdülhamit II with a sword in his hand to kill the Armenians. However, the American journalists had positive images of the Young Turks because of being interested in making reforms and developing education in Turkey.

## V. THE DAWN OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE AMERICAN MILITARY'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS TURKEY, 1921-1923

Archival sources from the *United States Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks Archives* express the change of American officer Turkish images. These archival sources cover the years 1921 to 1923. Turkey had a series of wars until 1921. The Balkan Wars were in 1912 and 1913. Then, there was World War I. After that, there was the War of Independence. Turkey underwent a war policy beginning with the Balkan Wars. The Ottoman government in that period was criticized in various subjects. For example, some of the criticisms were its war policy, the fighting values, the attitude of the government towards the minority groups, the obligations of the governors in the Ottoman Empire, the capability in organization, the education of women and its indifference to reforms. Nearly all the criticism were about the government's war policy, the governing policy, and about the Turkish population. However, in this period there were two separate and distinct governments in Turkey. One was at Constantinople, recognized by the Powers as the legal government of Turkey under which a semi-military organization was authorized by the Treaty of Serves. The other was at Angora (Ankara), a *de facto* Nationalist government, which was rapidly coming to be recognized by the Powers as the real governing power in Turkey.<sup>132</sup> Since most of the criticism depended on the war policy in the Empire, it would be necessary to know what the American officers' Turkish

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<sup>132</sup> "Estimate of the Strategic Situation of Turkey and Greece," *Course at the Army War College, 1922-1923*, The U. S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922, p. 1.

images were in this period. Therefore, the Turkish images of some American officers in the American Army are obtained.

#### A. Ottoman Government

Most of the officers in American Army sympathized with the people living in the Ottoman Empire whereas they criticized the government for its attitude towards the minority groups. They criticized the Ottoman government with its governing policy because of having autocratic and oppressive administrative methods and using oppressive taxation towards the minority groups. In 1922, the criticism of having autocratic and oppressive administration continued with some American Army officers. For example, here is a criticism of the Ottoman government in "Estimate of the Strategic Situation of Turkey" about the autocratic rule and the oppressive taxation towards the minority groups:

Because of their low cultural state, long centuries of autocratic rule and oppressive taxation, and subjection to conscription and military requisitions, the people of Turkey are believed to have the quality of enduring for long periods the hardships involved in a state of war. Their support of a war would generally be apathetic but docile under the pressure of their Turkish masters and leaders.<sup>133</sup>

In the "Estimate of the Strategic Situation of Turkey," the hardships the people of Turkey had undergone through long periods in Turkish history was explained. The people of Turkey were sympathized within the article. The people were in a state of war for a long period. They were seen as being under the pressure of the Turkish masters and leaders. In other words, the

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<sup>133</sup> "Estimate of the Strategic Situation of Turkey," *Course at the Army War College, 1922-1923*, The U. S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922, p. 13.



American army sympathized with Turks in this quotation. The article claims that Turks have been so damaged by their history that they cannot fight effectively. It is possible to understand this claim from the words "apathetic" and "docile."

However, some American officers would be right to think that the situation of the *millets* in the Ottoman Empire affected the internal and external policies of the state. As an officer at the War College stated "there were differences between various groups of Turkish population."<sup>134</sup> This would create differences in the external and internal policies. It would probably be that the majority Turkish group would try to dominate the minority groups in the Empire in internal policy. Therefore, it would be true to think that the differences between the minority groups would affect the internal and external policies in the government. The reason would be that each group lived its own way of life in freedom in the Empire. And as Roderic H. Davison put it, "these *millets* had, in various ways, considerable contact with Europe in external policy. They associated with European merchants and diplomats. Moreover, because of the political, economic and intellectual pressures, the status of *millets* and of their members was altered and their internal structures were changed."<sup>135</sup> All these would affect the external and internal policies of the government.

Moreover, some army officers criticized the Ottoman government use of the governors. They criticized the governor again with the old stereotypes. In fact, this would not be wrong, because the governors were not fitted to

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>135</sup> Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. I, New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., 1982, p. 319.

fulfill their obligations. They thought that the government was “full of people who were not fitted intelligently to fulfill the duties or obligation required for a popular government” under which several *millets* lived.<sup>136</sup> They thought that the popular government in the Empire would not be possible because the people of Turkey had generally no political training and were away from the western lines.<sup>137</sup> This experience contributed to some American officers’ description of the Ottoman governors with the old stereotypes.

In addition to governing policy, there were some officers like Stephan Panaretoff who criticized the Turkish population. Stephan Panaretoff, an American officer of Bulgarian ancestry, spoke in a lecture in Army War College. Panaretoff lived almost all his life in Constantinople, connected with the Robert College and knew Turkish. He had been able to come in contact with the Turks of various positions in life. He had not been able to come in contact with the Grand Viziers and Pashas, but he had to do a great deal with the ordinary people and with some of the people who would be called the intelligent part of the people.<sup>138</sup>

Stephan Panaretoff’s Turkish images were different from some of the officers in the American Army. He explained the differences between the Turkish images:

...in reading descriptions of Turkey and the Turks by various writers and travelers you find such a diversity of opinion. Some of them consider the Turk as a barbarian, as cruel, as dishonest toward the

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<sup>136</sup> “Estimate of the Strategic Situation of Turkey,” *Course at the Army War College, 1922-1923*, Th U.S. Army Military history Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922, p. 7.

<sup>137</sup> “Summary of the Estimate on Turkey and Greece,” *Course at the Army War College, 1922-1923*, G-2 Course No: 13, The U. S. Army Military history institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922, pp.: 1-2.

<sup>138</sup> Stephan Panaretoff, “Military Aspects of National Psychology of Greek and of Turkish People,” *The Army War College*, G-2 Course No: 23. The U.S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922-1923, p. 1.

Christians, as an oppressor; others consider him as a very amiable man, as honest, charitable, docile, tractable, and if we may believe Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, he is even lovable.<sup>139</sup>

The ones who thought Turks as an oppressor, as a barbarian, as cruel and as dishonest would be the ones who would think about the Ottoman government's attitude towards the minority groups living in the Empire. The ones who thought Turks as lovable, charitable, hospitable and kind were the ones who were in close relationship with the Turkish people. For example, although Panaretoff thought Turks as amiable people, as honest, charitable, docile, tractable and even lovable people, he thought different about the Ottoman government. His attitudes may have reflected sympathy for the struggles of Bulgarians against the Empire in the 1800s. Here is what Panaretoff said in his lecture about the Turkish idea of government:

Their idea of Government is that of command and severity. The two Turkish words which express the idea of government, one of them means the steering of a ship or management of a ship, and the other means severity, and he knows no other kind of government. Another point in the Turkish character is their indifference to science and progress. He is very slow to learn from his neighbors. He is very slow to adopt foreign ideas. He goes on the principle our forefathers have done so and they did succeed. He does not take into consideration the difference between the twentieth century and the sixteenth or seventeenth century.<sup>140</sup>

Indeed the two words of "severity" and "command" were that of the old Turkish stereotypes. According to Panaretoff, the "severity" of the

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<sup>139</sup>Panaretoff, 1.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 3.

government would be seen in justice. Stephan Panaretoff, in his lecture in Army War College explained the unity of command of the Turks:

The reasons for Turkish conquest were probably unity of command. The Sultan was the supreme commander. There were no Knights or Barons or Counts to contest his authority. When the Sultan couldn't go to war and used to send the Grand Vizier to command the troops, the Grand Vizier was acknowledged to be the Supreme Commander. Then, obedience to authority,- that is one distinguishing characteristic of the Turk that he is very obedient to authority. You can manage a Turkish village or Turkish quarter with one policeman, and when the Turk sees a policeman, he knows that he represents authority and that he must obey, that he must submit.<sup>141</sup>

Panaretoff explained that the distinguishing characteristic of the Turk was his obedience to authority. He also explained that the Turk was proud, that he was proud of having been the conqueror, of having made Europe tremble before him centuries ago.<sup>142</sup> Stephan Panaretoff also explained:

In fighting an enemy he is not fighting so much because he is actuated by patriotic motives, but he is moved by fanaticism, they are infidels and enemies to his religion. That is why his wars are generally as a rule attended by slaughter and extermination, and that is why also it is a rule or a dogma with them that what has been won by the sword cannot be taken away except by the sword. That is why reforms or granting autonomy and home rule in the Turkish Empire is something which is impossible.<sup>143</sup>

In his explanation, Panaretoff expressed the "barbarian" stereotype of the Turk while in war. He fights to slaughter and exterminate. Panaretoff also

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<sup>141</sup> Stephan Panaretoff, "Military Aspects of National Psychology of Greek and of Turkish People," *The Army War College*, G-2 Course No: 23, The U. S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922-1923, p. 5.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 5.

explained the incapability of making reforms of the Turks. Panaretoff thought that the Turks were incapable of organization and that the Turk was a conqueror by the sword. Panaretoff wrote about the incapability of the Turks to establish a constructive policy in the places where they conquered by sword. He also wrote with the old Turkish stereotype as "The Turks were incapable of organization."<sup>144</sup> In addition to the old Turkish stereotype of the "incapability of organization," there were some other stereotypes about the financial condition of the Ottoman Empire: "official's taking bribery" and in this way the "corruption" among the officials; "oppressiveness" on the people with the burdens of taxation which shows the unequal treatment of the Ottoman government towards the Ottoman people. Stephan Panaretoff also criticized the Turks of having lack of sentiment of political liberty. He criticized the Turkish government up to 1908 as a despotic government. 1908 was the time when the Young Turkish Party made their revolution and established the Constitution. Until that time the Sultan was the ruler, and his word was the law. Until that time the people had chance of exercising political rights or of learning any political liberty.<sup>145</sup>

In the "Summary of the Estimate on Turkey and Greece," the Ottoman government was also accused of not supporting the education of girls. Only education was for boys in the state-supported schools in towns and cities. In the conference established in September 30, 1921 in Army War College by the Chairman Colonel John D. L. Hartman, Lieut. Col. Russell P. Reeder and Major John Scott, the Turks were called "illiterate, indolent, and without

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<sup>144</sup> Panaretoff, 2-3.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 4..

ambition" to have education. They thought that there was no Turkish literature, nor any Turkish art. There were only a few newspapers printed in the large cities.<sup>146</sup>

However, all these would be open to discussion, because as most of the missionaries pointed out, the Turkish people desired education. It is a great statement to point out that "there was no Turkish literature, nor does any Turkish art". This would be a wrong statement, because literature was very important in Tanzimat period. According to some officers in American Army, the Turkish population consisted of peasants who were generally illiterate, indolent, and fanatically religious. "The Turk is a good farmer in primitive lines, but is not very successful as a merchant or as a mechanic."<sup>147</sup> The Turk was away from the progress and science so that he was a good farmer in primitive lines. There are again some stereotypes with the Turks such as "illiterate" and "indolence." The stereotype of "illiteracy" comes from being away from the science and progress of Turks. The "indolence" would probably come from the incapability to adopt the Western lines easily. This would mean that since American Army officers were a different group than the missionaries, the images of Turkey was different in their perspectives.

Stephan Panaretoff, in his lecture, spoke that the Turks had never been affected by European culture or European civilization.<sup>148</sup> He thought

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<sup>146</sup> "Summary of the Estimate on Turkey and Greece," *Course at the Army War College, 1921-1922*, G-2 Course No: 13, The U. S. Army Military history Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1921, p. 3.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>148</sup> Stephan Panaretoff, "Military Aspects of National Psychology of Greek and of Turkish People," *The Army War College*, G-2 Course No: 23, The U. S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922-1923, p. 1-2.

that the Turks again were indifferent to the progress and science. This would mean that he accepted them as "illiterate."

Some officers in the American Army like Panaretoff thought that the Turk was a "good fighter," that the Turks had obedience towards their supreme commander. The Turks were famous with their obedience to authority. The Turkish soldier, according to American viewpoint was proud of having been the conqueror for centuries. They thought that the Turks were constant in war. Nobody could take something back without the force of sword. The Turk was constant not to give something he gained with his sword. Therefore the Turk was said to be a "tenacious fighter" and "courageous" in fighting.

All of the criticism about the Turks were pointed out in the lectures given in War College. In most of the criticisms, there was the Turkish image consisting of the old stereotypes. Although the lectures were between the years of 1921 and 1923, the stereotypes belonged to the older times. To sum up, it would probably be said that some old stereotypes did not change. For example, the stereotypes of illiteracy, indolence, barbarians, oppressiveness of the government, the corruption among the officials, incapability of the organization of Turks, severity and command were not forgotten.

However, with the reforms and social and political changes, American perception of Turkey mainly turned into positive. The Turkish images about the Turkish population favored the Turks, whereas the Turkish images about the government, about the fighting values of the Turks and about the attitude of the government towards the minority groups were unfavorable.

## B. The Nationalist Government of Mustafa Kemal

The Nationalist government of Mustafa Kemal and the Ottoman government were two distinct and separate governments. Therefore, the American officers' images of Turkey towards two governments were different. In fact, as most of the *Carlisle Archive* sources will show, the Ottoman government was criticized by most of the American Army officers whereas the people living in that government were favored. The reason was that the Ottoman government was criticized because of the attitudes towards the minority groups.

On the other hand with the new Nationalist government of Mustafa Kemal, most of the American Turkish images changed, because the new government supported education, brought Western-type of clothes to Turkey and modernized every field of life. In fact, American attitudes changed with the Kemalist reforms. As the new leadership began to achieve its interrelated goals of reform and a respected place for Turkey among other nations, the old stereotype of "The terrible Turk" became outmoded. Americans, like the rest of the world, had to change some of their images of Turkey. Because, after the new Turkey had driven the Greeks from Anatolia and made its peace with the Allies at Lausanne, Atatürk began the second stage of his revolution dedicated to internal reforms. The new leadership explained its program in six reforms -republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and reformism.<sup>149</sup>

Basic to the sequence of reforms began with 1923 that Turkey became a republic in which sovereignty emanated from the people as represented in

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<sup>149</sup> DeNovo, 230.



the Grand National Assembly. In 1923, abolition of the Caliphate was the first of a series of reforms designed to separate church and state. Then, laws and edicts followed, directed against Islamic social customs as polygamy and wearing of the fez. The veiling of women disapproved, the government abolished dervish orders, closed convents monasteries, and tombs.<sup>150</sup> To accelerate the learning process, alphabet and language reforms began in 1928. The secularization of education went forward. Illiteracy was reduced with the simplified alphabet and the government's program of adult education.<sup>151</sup>

After the Lausanne settlement, most of the old stereotypes weakened as Americans re-evaluated their images of the Turks and Turkey. Diplomats, like Admiral L. Bristol and Allen Dulles were among the first to understand that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü were leaders of a new government. President Caleb Frank Gates of Robert College was another American who expressed his views about Turks in *Not to Me Only* (1940). Gates wrote: "I felt that we(Americans) should get rid of the old mentality which looked upon the Turks as a decadent people... we should deal with them in frankness and sincerity."<sup>152</sup> In his view, Gates' implies that the American attitudes towards the Turks and Turkey had to change, because Turkey was accepted as a respected nation among others in the Lausanne settlement. Gates implies that Americans should get rid of old stereotypes about Turkey, because Mustafa Kemal Atatürk aimed to make internal reforms for establishing a new Turkey that gave importance to innovations

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<sup>150</sup> an extended account of the Atatürk revolution in Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 250-286.; DeNovo, 232.

<sup>151</sup> Lewis, 271-274.

<sup>152</sup> quoted in DeNovo, 235.

such as in education and in women's rights. American images of Turkey became positive in 1923 with this settlement. Americans supported the Treaty of Lausanne, because it was basic to the sequence of reforms Atatürk made in Turkey. Like Gates, the presidents of the different colleges supported the Treaty of Lausanne between 1923 and 1927. In fact, these presidents of the colleges were the missionaries in Turkey. They were among the American interest groups. The American Board, Robert College, İstanbul College for Women, the Near East College Association, the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East, and various firms.<sup>153</sup> All these American groups respected internal reforms of Atatürk. This would mean that the internal reforms of Atatürk began to command world-wide respect and attention. Like his internal reforms, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was favored because he had a broad education in European affairs. Here is what was said about him:

Mustapha Kemal Pasha is a great leader. He has had long years of military experience in several wars; he is a man of broad education in European affairs; he is still a young man, just past 40 years of age; he has a personality which makes him a popular idol, and he is dominated by the controlling spirit of Nationalism.<sup>154</sup>

As seen above, the Nationalist government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was favored in the Carlisle Archives. For example, he was called "brilliant Mustafa Kemal" because of his successful deeds.<sup>155</sup> Here is a great change of American image of Turkey. Whereas the government of Abdülhamit II was full

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<sup>153</sup> DeNovo, 235.

<sup>154</sup> Stephan Panaretoff, "Military Aspects of National Psychology of Greek and of Turkish People," *The Army War College*, G-2 Course No: 23, The U. S. Army Military History Institute Carlisle Barracks, 1922-1923, p. 10.

<sup>155</sup> Shaw, 317.

of severe criticism for being incapable to lead an Empire, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Nationalist government was favored. The reason would be the great social and political changes between the two governments. The differences in the images of Turkey between the years 1921-1923 show that the American officers' images changed because of the changes in the Turkish political and social life. In fact, it is possible to say that the American Army officers' images of Turkey included the old Turkish stereotypes. The army officers lecturing the War College in 1923 draw on the same orientalist stereotypes employed by some missionaries in the mid-1800s, although the missionaries consistently seem more sympathetic than the soldiers. The images of Turkey of the American officers differed, because they expressed their views about the army, the government and governors. However, the American officers continued the old Turkish stereotypes since they evaluated the attitude of the Ottoman government towards the *millets*. They also evaluated the capability or incapability of the governors. Some images lasted longer, because American officers were a very different group than the missionaries. And they observed different subjects than the missionaries. Whereas the missionaries mainly observed the people living in the Ottoman Empire, the army officers observed the Ottoman government and its officials.

## CONCLUSION

Over the course of a century, some Americans in Turkey retained traditional anti-Turkish and ethno-centric attitudes common among Westerners involved in global colonization. But other Americans developed more favorable, positive images of Turks based on their experiences in the late Ottoman Empire. Images of Turkey changed according to time, place, and the individuals involved. In general, Americans concerned with politics supported modernizing reforms, and they spoke favorably of those Ottoman politicians who supported and effectively implemented such changes. Missionaries seeking converts could praise both Christians and Muslims. In either case, favorable impressions usually depended on the local group's receptivity to missionary activities associated with Protestant conversion.

In the early nineteenth-century most American information about Turkey came from Protestant missionaries. As part of their project to win converts, missionaries sponsored philanthropic activities such as schools and hospitals. In most cases, Turks responded favorably to philanthropic endeavors like hospitals and schools. American philanthropists reciprocated this kind reception by sending positive reports about Turks to the United States. While the Empire did not convert to Protestantism in masses, American missionaries and the different peoples of the Empire found common ground in the missionaries' less overtly religious pursuits. Surprised in large measure by the tolerance of the Ottoman state towards non-Muslims and impressed by their cordial relations with the government, nineteenth-century

missionaries expressed some of the most favorable impressions of Turks during the entire period under study.

Some missionaries and other personnel disagreed with this generally positive impression of Turkey. Those men and women worked mainly in the eastern portions of the Empire after 1877, the time when conflict between the state and the Armenian ethnic minority reached a crisis. In their reports about the Armenian crisis, these observers revived traditional images of Turks as militaristic barbarians. But these were not the same kind of people sent to missions in Syria, Istanbul and other locations. Missionaries in eastern Turkey had been specially charged with ministering to Armenian Christians. As such they had a predisposition to sympathize with Armenians that bloodletting at places like Adana only exacerbated. The diplomats sent by the U.S. government to eastern Turkey expressed similar criticisms of Turks. Their observations of the harsh treatment Armenians received dovetailed with their interest in expanding U.S. power at the expense of the Sultanate. While ideas can never be mechanically reduced to material interests, differences in background and the experiences of these observers in late-19th century eastern Turkey correlated with their objectives in traveling to Turkey.

Yet the Armenian crisis did not provoke a uniform reaction against Turks at the turn of the century. Journalists, diplomats, and missionaries stationed outside of eastern Turkey continued to find much to praise, if not of the government then at least of the peoples of the Empire. Press reports on reforms in education and women's rights met with enthusiastic support by the American public. As with the missionaries of the prior century, early 1900s

American praise for Turkey generally pertained to those aspects of Turkish society that seemed to resemble favorable characteristics of the United States. Writing during the era of Progressive reform in their country, reform-minded journalists for *Century Magazine* and the *Current Opinion* told Americans about like-minded efforts at social change in Turkey. Similarly, in *The Missionary Herald* they wrote about the respect of patients for American physicians which sometimes extended to patients' desire to learn Protestant hymns. In this context, journals like *The American Review of Reviews* glorified the Young Turks, the politicians most like Progressives, and vilified the regime of Abdulhamit II, a monarch whose autocratic style smacked of boss politics and recalled arguments against kingship stretching back to the American Revolution. Out of this reporting emerged a complex American public impression of late Ottoman Turkey that castigated its government for the Armenian massacres but still found things to praise such as the reforms.

Most of the old stereotypes faded away with the rise of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the early 1920s. They diminished in popularity because Atatürk adopted many of the modernizing reforms that American missionaries, journalists, and diplomats also wanted for Turkey. Yet some Americans, such as Panaretoff, carried the image of the terrible Turk forward into the twentieth century. A combination of received wisdom, likely exacerbated by his Bulgarian ancestry, and practical experience in military observation team stationed in Istanbul led Panaretoff to reiterate traditional negative views of Turks. Significantly, Panaretoff's criticism did not extend to Atatürk and the army of the Republic. Like other Americans, and by this time many Turks, he reserved his harshest criticism for the remnants of the Ottoman Empire.

The ones who carried the American perception of the Ottomans to the United States were the missionaries, the diplomats, the teachers, and the doctors. American public learned about the Ottomans by the writings of these people to the newspaper s, journals and magazines. However, some of these people were only the observers for a short period in the Ottoman Empire. This would mean that they probably carried the same old Turkish stereotypes because of staying for a short period in the Ottoman Empire.

The images of Americans who most influenced public opinion about Turkey changed according to the aims, activities, place of residence, period of stay and closeness to the Turks. Similar to the difference between philanthropists in Armenia and those outside it, Americans in the Ottoman Empire expressed a heterogeneous set of attitudes towards their host country, and that heterogeneity closely correlated to the factors of time, place, and the individual's purpose in Turkey.

It would be true to say that the American perception of the Ottomans changed according to the reforms, social and political changes in the Ottoman Empire. Since reforms in the period of Abdülhamit II were insufficient, this period was not favored by the Americans because of being subject to the Armenian problems in the Ottoman Empire. Due to the new reforms in the Young Turk period was praised in the American newspapers, journals, magazines, diaries and memoirs.

In most of the archival sources, the Turkish population was favored whereas the government was not because most Turks were kind and hospitable towards Americans. However, the government was criticized with its unequal attitude towards the *millet*s, with being subject to the Armenian

problems, and with being indifferent to the reforms in the Ottoman Empire. Changes of Turkish images in the newspapers, journals, magazines, diaries and memoirs depended on the reforms, social and political changes in the Ottoman Empire in addition to the aims, the activities, the residence of place and the period of stay of the American missionaries.



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